THE EASTERN CĀḶUKYAS OF VĒNGĪ



DR. N. VENKATARAMANAYYA



The Seal of Rajarajanarendra
from his Manda Copper-plate Grant.

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BY

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Archaeology is seldom an exact science—we are often compelled to mark our advance by a progress from one theory which has been disproved to another which seems better to fit facts.

Peet.

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THE SACRED MEMORY OF

MY GURUDĒVA

FERRAND E. CORLEY, M.A.,

Of the Madras Christian College.

PREFACE

A History of the Eastern Cāḷukyas of Vēngī had been a long felt want; and notwithstanding the discovery and publication of several inscriptions of the dynasty, no systematic attempt has so far been made to exploit thoroughly the historical material contained therein and present a connected account of the family. An attempt is made in the following pages to reconstruct the history of the Eastern Cāḷukyas with the help of available material, and fill up a gap in the annals of our country. How far I have succeeded in my attempt, it is for the readers to judge. However, it must be pointed out that several problems, both chronological and political, still remain unsolved, and appear unsolvable at the present state of our knowledge. Nevertheless, a general account such as the one presented here is not without its use.

The work as originally planned in collaboration with Mr. M. Venkataramayya, M.A., could not be carried out, owing to the termination of his services in the University consequeut on the disbandment of the staff employed for the Mackenzie Mss. He had done much of the spade work, by preparing the index of inscriptions, and making copies of the unpublished records which he had unreservedly placed at my disposal. I appriciate his kindness and offer him my heart-felt thanks.

It would not have been possible for me to undertake the work without the help and co-operation of the Archæological Department. The Government Epigraphist, the Superintendent and other officers of the department readily responded to my request, and furnished me with transcripts, impressions and any other information

I wanted from them without undue delay, for which I am grateful to them. I am thankful to the authorities of the Madras University for kindly granting me permission to publish the work. I also tender my thanks to Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., for his valuable advice, and useful suggestions which enabled me to steer clear of many difficulties, and to Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma for scrutinizing the printed formes and correcting some errors. I am grateful to Śri V. Venkataraya Sastri, M.A., for helping me in several ways, specially in reading the proofs, preparing the index and the maps, and expediting the printing and the publication of the book.

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA.

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CONTENTS.

ABBREVIATIONS.

I.A.	Indian Antiquary.
EI.	Ephigraphia Indica.
EC.	„ Carnatica.
S.T V.N. High School.	Srimat Tirumala Venkata Narasimhacharlu's Hindu High School, Pentapadu.
JAHRS.	Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.
JTA.	Journal of the Telugu Academy.
JBORS.	Journal of the Bihar Orissa Research Society.
SII.	South Indian Inscriptions.
ARE	Annual reports of Ephigraphy.
NDI	Inscriptions of Nellore District Ed. by Butterworth and Venugopala Chetty.
Cp	Copper-plate Grant.
JOR	Journal of Oriental Research.
Jr. Bom. Br. RAS.	Journal of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
HAS.	Hyderabad Archæological Series.
Dyn. Kan. Dist.	Dr. Fleet's Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts.
IHQ	Indian Historical quarterly.
Arch. Sur. West. Ind.	Archæological Survey of Western India.
JBISM	Journal of the Bharatiya Itihasa Samsodhaka Mandali.
His. Ins.	Historical Inscriptions of S. India, Sewell.
LR	Local Records.
BK	Bombay Karnatak Inscriptions.
Kum.	Nanne Cōḍa's Kumārasambhavamu.

CHAPTER I

THE SOURCES

THE History of the Eastern Cāḷukyas, like that of most other early South Indian dynasties, is based more or less exclusively on inscriptions, stone or metal. The latter, engraved on copper-plates, are pretty numerous and provide us with the bulk of our information on the subject Unlike the records of the other dynasties, the Eastern Cāḷukya copper-plate grants present certain peculiarities, which are of immense interest to the student of Hindu historiography The simple *praśasti* embodied in the early records of the family manifests a tendency to grow with the advance of time, and is transformed, towards the close of the period, into a full-blown chronicle of the dynasty. Three definite stages are distinctly noticeable in the *praśasti*. In the records of the early kings, from Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana to Viṣṇuvardhana V, only names of three generations, *viz.*, the donor of the grant, his father, and his father's father, are generally met with, and no information of any historical value is mentioned in connection with their achievements. They yield no clue, except what is deducible from the dubious evidence of paleography, about their age, or the chronological order in which the kings mentioned in them succeeded one another. With the accession of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya or Vijayāditya III, however, an important change becomes perceptible in the character of the E. Cāḷukya *praśasti*. He appears to have been a monarch endowed with a strong historical sense. Being dissatisfied with the bare enumeration of the names of the kings of three generations—the donor, his father, and his father's father—which did no justice to the great-

ness of the family, Guṇaga introduced a new from of *praśasti*, recounting in a chronological order all the previous kings of his line with the duration of their respective reigns, and the important events worthy of special mention. In his Sātalūru grant,[1] for instance, it is stated that,—

Kubja-Viṣṇuvardḥana, the younger brother of Satyāśraya Vallabhēndra (ruled for)		18 Years.
His son, Sakalalōkāśraya Jayasimha Vallabha	....	33 do
His younger brother, Indra-bhaṭṭāraka's son, Viṣṇurāja	....	9 ,,
His son, Mangi Dogarāja	....	25 ,,
His son, Jayasimhavallabha	....	13 ,,
Kokkili, his younger brother, by another mother	....	6 months
His elder brother, Viṣṇurāja, having expelled his younger brother ruled for)	....	35 Years
His son, Vijayāditya Mahārāja	....	18 ,,
His son, Viṣṇuvardhana ruled Vengi-maṇḍala 12,000 for	....	35 ,,

His eldest son, Vijayāditya, who, like the crown of matted hair of Hara (Śiva), was skilled in obtstructing the stream of the Gangā, and was capable, like the wind, of scattering the entire crowd of the thundering

1. *Bhārati* I, pp. 102-104.

clouds, that is, the whole of the Ganga tribe; who built 108 *Narēndrēsvara* temples; and who having fought for 12 years with his younger brother Bhīma Saluki and his allies the commanders of Vallabhēndra, and defeated them, wrested from him the Vengi-maṇḍala	....	40 Yrs.
His son, Kali Viṭṭhara	....	1½ ,,
His son, Vijayāditya, renowned as Guṇakanalla, due to his satisfying the Brahmans by the distribution of gold against which he weighed himself, ruled the whole of Dakṣiṇāpatha together with Trikaḷingā.		

In this manner there ruled five kings, of the name of Viṣṇuvardhana, two of the name of Jayasimha, one Mangi Yuvarāja, and three Vijayādityas.

The form of the *prasasti*, as modified by Guṇaka. Vijayāditya, was adopted by all his successors, as a consequence of which the main outlines of the history of the dynasty were reduced to writing before their rule came to an end. Of course, this history is a mere skeleton, but it can be clothed with flesh and blood by a study of the records of the contemporary dynasties.

Another change, though not so important as the above, came over the E. Cāḷukyan *prasasti* in the opening decades of the 11th century A. D. The *prasasti* which until then remained a matter-of-fact document then acquired, due perhaps to the E. Cāḷukya contact with the neighbouring royal houses, a legendary introduction tracing the origin of the

family to the Moon, through the Pāṇḍavas, the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*. This legendary introduction was evidently devised to flatter the vanity of the rulers of the dynasty; but it in no way enhances the value of the *praśasti* as a historical document.

The inscriptions of the contemporary dynasties also throw considerable light on the history of the family. The records of the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi notwithstanding their close and intimate intercourse with their eastern cousins, have surprisingly little to tell about their mutual relations; but much useful information is embedded in the Pallava, Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Cōḷa, and the Kalyāṇi Cāḷukya inscriptions. A thorough investigation of their contents is indispensable for a clear understanding of the Eastern Cāḷukya history.

The material furnished by other sources of information is meagre. A few coins of the dynasty, no doubt, have been discovered; but they add very little to our knowledge. However, gold coins with the legend, '*Cāḷukya Candra*', a title of S'aktivarman I (A. D. 999-1011), which were discovered some years ago in Arakan and Siam, deserve special mention in this context, as they bear testimony to the existence of maritime intercourse between Vengi and the countries across the Bay of Bengal. Literature, which is such a useful source of information for other periods of South Indian history, scarcely demands attention. Nevertheless, two works of some importance may be noticed in passing. Pampa's *Vikramārjuna Vijayam*, and Nannaya's *Āndhra Mahābhāratam* may be consulted with advantage, as they throw some light on certain aspects of the E. Cāḷukya history.

CHAPTER II

THE CĀḶUKYAS, THEIR ORIGIN AND CASTE.

THE Eastern Cāḷukyas or, as they are sometimes called, the Cāḷukyas of Vengi, were not the indigenous inhabitants of the country over which they bore sway for nearly four centuries, but aliens who entered it as conquerors and reduced it to subjection. They were an offshoot of the great Cāḷukya family of Bādāmi, who were left behind in the conquered country to hold it on behalf of the family. Considerable obscurity hangs over the origin of the Cāḷukyas, and the circumstances in which they rose to power, due to some extent to the conflicting character of 'the legends of origin' preserved in the records of the family. Although nothing is known of their origin from the inscriptions of the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi, the parent stock from which all the other branches sprang up, several legends, obviously invented to enhance their glory, are met with in the records of the later branches of the family. The legends of origin, notwithstanding their variations, conform to two types, the northern and the southern. According to the former, as stated in one of the Gujarat Cāḷukya inscriptions A.D. 1051, the progenitor of the family was born from the *Cuḷuka* (the hollow in the palm of the hand) of the God, Brahma.[1] A variant of this is found in Bilhaṇa's *Vikramānkadēvacarita*. It is said that God Brahma, who was approached, while he was engaged in performing his *Sandhya* devotions, by Indra with a request to create a hero to put an end to the increasing evil in the world, looked steadily into his *Cuḷuka*, and as a result, a great warrior sprang up from it.[2]

1. I. A. xii P. 203.

2. *Vikramānkadēvacaritam* I, 31-8.

The latter which appears to have been popular in the south is found in the vernacular literature and the inscriptions of the 11th century A.D. The Kannaḍa poet Ranna, in the introduction to his poem, the *Gadāyuddha*, mentions a certain Satyāśraya, 'the lord of Ayōdhyāpura', and refers to Jayasimha also called Viṣṇuvardhana, probably one of his descendants, as the conqueror of the Raṣṭrakūṭas, and the founder of the Cāḷukya monarchy in the Deccan.[1] The legend occurs in a more developed form in the Kauthem grant of Vikramāditya. V. It is said that after fifty-nine kings of the dynasty ruled in Ayōdhyā in the north, the Cāḷukyas migrated to the south and established their authority in the Deccan; but after the rule of sixteen kings, their power was overthrown, and they had to remain in obscurity. After the lapse of a few generations, Jayasimhavallabha defeated the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra, the son of Kṛṣṇa, restored the fortunes of the family and established his supremacy over the Deccan. Several kings who bore the titles of Vijayadityā and Viṣṇuvardhana ruled after him, and the fortune of the Cāḷukyas increased continuously ever since.[2] The legendary account of the family is found in its most comprehensive form in the Eastern Cāḷukya inscriptions of the 11th century A. D., which connects them with the Lunar branch of the *Kṣatriya* caste. The origin of the family is traced through the Pāṇḍavas, Purūrava; and Budha to the Moon. Fifty-nine kings, not named, are said to have ruled at *Ayōdhyā* after Udayana, the son of S'atānīka, and Vijayāditya, a scion of this family went to Dakṣiṇāpatha on an expedition of conquest, and having come into conflict with Trilōcana Pallava, was killed by him in battle. His queen, who was

1. *Gadāyuddha* i.
2. I. A. xvi. P. 15.

pregnant at the time, was protected by a brahman of Muḍivēmu called Viṣnubhaṭṭa Sōmayājin; and, in course of time, she gave birth to a son, whom she named Viṣṇuvardhana after her benefactor. The boy grew up into manhood; and having learnt from his mother the story of his father, repaired to Cāḷukyagiri, where he propitiated the Goddess Nandābhagavatī, and by her grace established his supremacy over the whole of Dakṣiṇāpatha extending from the Narmadā to Sētu.

It may be noted that, while some of these legends are purely mythological, others contain besides, a pseudo-historical element. Though the former may be rejected as false without hesitation, the latter demand close scrutiny, as they profess to describe the early history of the family, for which no independent corroborative evidence of a trustworthy character is available. These legends are late in origin; they cannot be traced back to a date earlier than the beginning of the 11th century A.D. Though they have certain features in common, they differ from one another on matters of vital importance. The connection with Ayōdhyā and the migration to Dakṣiṇāpatha are, no doubt, common to the Cāḷukyas both of Kalyāṇi and Vengi; but the rule of the sixteen nameless kings in the Deccan, the loss of power due to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ascendency, and the subsequent revival of their rule under Jayasimhavallabha which figure prominently in the Kalyāṇi Cāḷukya inscriptions are unknown to E. Cāḷukya records. Similarly, the story of Vijayāditya's expedition to the south, his encounter with Trilōcana Pallava, his death in battle, the birth of his posthumous son, Viṣṇuvardhana, and the foundation of a mighty empire from the Narmadā to Sētu which are so familiar to the students of the later E. Cāḷukya copper-plate charters, find no place in the records of the

Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi.[1] Variations such as these clearly show that though the belief in the northern origin of their family was commonly held both by the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi and Vengi in the 11th century A.D, they had no knowledge of their early history which was entirely lost and that when the desire to reconstruct it grew strong, they invented stories, as dictated by their fancy, consistent with the belief in their northern origin. How far the belief in their northern origin is founded on facts is the subject of a controversy. Some believe, of course, on the evidence of the origin legends, that the Cāḷukyas were emigrants from Northern India, whereas others hotly deny it, and point out that, as the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi and others descended from them knew nothing about the origin legends up to the beginning of the 11th century A.D., they cannot be accepted as trustworthy evidence for their early history. This is, of course, a purely negative argument. Attempts have also been made to furnish some positive evidence for discrediting the northern origin of the Cāḷukyas. After a searching investigation of the early Cāḷukyan inscriptions, it has been shown that the original form of their name is not Cāḷukya but *Caluki*, *Calki*, *Saluki* or *Salki*, a Dravidian term, which is said to indicate their southern origin. It is also contended that the Cāḷukyas were not originally Kṣatriyas by caste, but common agricultural folk admitted into the Kṣatriya fold when they rose to power. A verse from Bilhaṇa's *Vikramānkadēva Caritam* in which the growth of the Cāḷukya family

1. The story of Vijayāditya was not, perhaps, unknown to Ranna; for, according to him, Jayasimha Vallabha, the reviver of the fortunes of the Cāḷukyas had an alias Viṣṇuvardhana. As Viṣṇuvardhana, the son of Vijayāditya is represented in the E. Cāḷukya records as the reviver of the Cāḷukyan power and establisher of an empire from the Narmadā to the Sētu, it is not unlikely that Ranna was influenced by the E. Cāḷukya *pras'asti* writers in adopting Viṣṇuvardhana as an alias of Jayasimha.

is compared with the stream of the Ganges flowing from the feet of Viṣṇu is cited in support of this view. As the s'ūdra caste is said to have sprung like the Ganges from Viṣṇu's feet, the comparison of the Cāḷukya family with the Ganges is supposed to indicate their s'ūdra origin. The Tamil Lexicon, *Divākaram*, composed in the 12th century A.D., in which the term '*Cāḷukya Vēndar*' is said to denote '*Veḷkula-aras'ar*' or the chiefs of the Veḷḷāḷa caste is quoted to strengthen the position further.[1] The evidence, however, is not quite convincing. It is doubtful whether the term *Caluki*, *Calki* is indubitably Dravidian, for it makes its appearance for the first time in an early Ikṣvāku Prākṛt inscription at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, in which Mahāsēnāpati, Mahātalavara Khaṁda-caḷiki-Remmaṇaka i.e. Remmaṇaka the son or a descendant of Khaṁda (Skanda)-Caliki of the Hiraṇmakas is mentioned. It is not unlikely that Caliki is a Prākṛt corruption of the Sanskrit name Calukya. No positive conclusion can be drawn from Bilhaṇa's comparison of the increase of the Cāḷukya family with the ever swelling stream of the Ganges; the author did not perhaps intend it to convey any meaning other than the continuous increase of the family, The expression '*Vēḷ-kula-aras'ar*' does not mean chief of the Veḷḷāḷa community, as we are led to believe. The term '*Vēḷ*' denotes among other things 'Cāḷukya king', and the country over which he ruled is referred to in the early Cōḷa inscriptions as '*Vēḷ-pulam*'. The contention that the Cāḷukyas were not originally kṣatriyas but s'ūdras, who gained admission into that caste as a consequence of their rise to power, is based on a misconception and must be abandoned as untenable. Evidence of a more trustworthy character, on the contrary, shows that, as early as the 7th century A. D., if not even earlier,

1. *Lakṣmaṇarāya-Vyāsāvaḷi* p. 63

the Cāḷukyas were recognised as kṣatriyas. In the Bādāmi fort inscription of the Cāḷikya Vallabhēs'vara i.e. Pulakēs'in I dated s'aka 465, (A. D. 543-4), he speaks of himself as *aṣvamēdhādi yajñānām yajvā s'rānta-vidhānataḥ*, i.e. the performer of *as'vamēdha* and other sacrifices according to the *s'rānta* rites.[1] The statement occurs in an amplified form in the Nērūr plates of his son Mangaḷēs'a, where he is said to have performed besides the *As'vamēdha*, *Agniṣṭōma*, *Vājapēya*, *Paunḍarīka* and *Bahusuvārṇa* sacrifices.[2] These sacrifices could not have been performed by any one except a 'twice-born' specially a brāhman or a kṣatriya. The Chinese Pilgrim, Huien Tsaing, who visited India in the first half of the 7th century A.D., and who was particular in noting the castes of the respective kings visited by him during his journey, explicitly states that the Cāḷukya King Pulakesin II was a kṣatriya by caste.[3] It is obvious that the Cāḷukyas were regarded in the middle of the 7th century A. D. as the members of the kṣatriya caste and that they performed several Vedic sacrifices, which only a *dvija* or twice-born was entitled to perform.

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1. Digest of the Annual Report on Kannaḍa Research, 1940-41, P. 9.

2. *I A. vi. p., 161. Agniṣṭōma-Vājapēya-Pauṇḍarīka, Bahusuvarṇa, Āsvamēdhāvabhṛta-snāna-pavitrīkṛta-s'arīrah Vallabhō-vallabhah.*

3. Watters. *Huien Tsaing's Travels ii. p. 239* "He was Kṣatriya by birth and his name was *Pu-lo-ki-she*".

CHAPTER III

EARLY HISTORY OF THE CĀḶUKYAS OF BĀDĀMI

The authentic history of the Cāḷukyas begins, according to some of their earliest inscriptions, with Jayasingha Vallabha, the founder of the family which established itself at Bādāmi in the Bijapūr district of the Bombay Presidency; [1] but very little is known of him or of his son, Raṇarāga. It was not until Pulakēsin I, the son of Raṇarāga, succeeded to the headship of the family that the Cāḷukyas rose to political prominence. In the only authentic record of his reign that has come down to us, it is said that he performed the *As'vamēdha* and other sacrifices, seized the hill of Vātāpi in S'aka 465 (543-4 A. D.) and converted it into an impregnable fortress.[2] Pulakēs'in perhaps conquered some of the ruling chiefs in his neighbourhood, and imposed his supremacy over them. The small kingdom founded by him expanded rapidly under his sons, and became the most powerful state in the Western Deccan. Though no records of the reign of his eldest son, Kīrtivarman I, have yet come to light, the events of the reign are fully described in the iscriptions of his successors. In the Mahākūṭa pillar inscrption of his younger brother and immediate successor, Mangaḷēs'a, he is said to have won victories over the rulers of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Vaṭṭūra, Magadha, Madraka, Kēraḷa, Gaṅga, Mūṣaka, Pāṇḍya, Dramiḷa, Cōḷiya, Āḷūka and Vaijayantī kingdoms;[3] but the Aihole inscription of his son, Pulakēs'in II, limits his conquests to three small kingdoms of the Naḷas, the Mauryas, and the Kadambas. [4]

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1. I. A. xix p. 16, E. I. vi I. p., 1.
2. Digest of Annual Report of Kannaḍa Research. 1940-41, p., 9.
3. I. A. xix p., 17.
4. E. I. vi. pp., 4-5.

The difference between the two records has perhaps to be explained by assuming that whereas the former refers to all his victories on the battle-field, the latter mentions only the conquests which resulted in the permanent acquisition of territory. On the death of Kīrtivarman I in Śaka 500 (A. D. 578-79), as his sons were too young to govern the kingdom, his younger brother, Mangaḷēśa ascended the throne. Mangaḷēsa was a powerful warrior and great conqueror. During a reign of a little over thirty years, he waged incessant war on his neighbours, overthrew the authority of the Kālacuryas, and made himself the master of the Western Deccan. Mangaḷēśa's reign, however, ended in disaster. Pulakēśin II, the eldest son of his brother, Kīrtivarman I, whom he attempted to supplant, rose up against him and having defeated him in battle put him to death.

The civil war between Mangaḷēśa and his nephew threw the Cāḷukya dominions into confusion; and the chiefs, who had been recently reduced to subjection shook off their yoke and asserted their independence; but Pulakēśin, who was a great soldier and skilful general rose equal to the situation; he routed his enemies, and within a short time after the overthrow of his uncle, he recovered all the territory and having made himself supreme in the kingdom celebrated his coronation in Śaka 531 (A. D. 609-10). The accession of Pulakēśin II marks the beginning of an important epoch in the history of the Deccan. The Cāḷukyas who remained until then a local dynasty, confined to Karnāṭaka and the Southern Māhārāṣṭra countries, spread over the whole of the Deccan and became the paramount sovereigns of the entire peninsula to the south of the Vindhyas. Pulakēśin II was an ambitious monarch; he followed vigorously the aggressive imperial policy chalked out by his father and uncle; and within a few years after his acces-

sion he overran the whole of the Deccan and South India and made himself supreme. His conquests are enumerated in the Aihole inscription dated Śaka 556(A. D. 634-35). At first he had to face an invasion. Two chiefs named Āppāyika and Gōvinda made an attack on his dominions from the north of the Bhīmarathī. The latter, who was probably stronger of the two, was bought over and made an ally, and the former was defeated and driven away. Pulakēśin then marched into the valley of the Varadā and reduced Vanavāsi, the capital of the Kadambas, to subjection. Next, he proceeded against the Gangas and the Āḷupas in the south, and having compelled them to submit, he marched along the coast, overthrew the Mauryas, and seized the famous port of Puri. With the subjugation of Konkan, the first phase of Pulakēsin's expedition may be said to have come to an end. It did not add fresh territory to his kingdom as the peoples whom he subdued were the old subjects of his family, who asserted their independence during the civil war between him and his uncle. His victories in Konkan paved the way for his advance farther north; for, impressed by his military glory, the Lāṭas, the Māḷavas, and the Gūrjaras, who held sway over the territory between the Tapatī and the Māhī, sought his protection against the aggressions of Harṣa, who was attempting to push his conquests to the south. This led inevitably to a conflict between the two. In a battle that was fought on the banks of the Revā, Pulakēśin II inflicted a defeat on Harṣa and compelled him to retire into his own dominions, abandoning once for all his territorial designs over the Deccan. Pulakēśin also reduced the three Mahārāṣṭrakas comprising ninety-nine thousand villages to subjection. To the east of Mahārāṣṭra lay Kōsala and Kaḷinga, which appear to have formed a single kingdom about this time. By his success

over Harṣa his ambition seems to have been kindled; and he set out with a firm determination to conquer all the kingdoms of the south and make himself lord paramount of the whole of the Deccan. He overpowered the Kōsalas and Kaḷingas with ease; and turning south-west he proceeded along the coast of Bay of Bengal, seizing on the way Piṣṭapura and the island of Kuṇāḷa; crossed the Kṛṣṇā, and advanced triumphantly through the Pallava country, forcing the Pallava monarch to seek refuge behind the walls of his capital Kāñcī; passed the Kāverī, and having penetrated as far as the Pāṇḍyan country returned victoriously to his capital.

This, in brief, is the account of Pulakēśin II's conquests as narrated in the Aihole inscription. Although it appears from this that he brought the whole of the Deccan from the Narmadā to the frontiers of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom under his sway, his authority was not uniformly recognized throughout the land. The kingdoms of the south never acknowledged his supremacy, and resisted succesfully his efforts to bring them under his power. His wars in the Deccan, however, produced more concrete results. The country from the Arabian sea to the Bay of Bengal came into his possession, and he became the undisputed sovereign of the entire region. The territories conquered by Pulakēśin did not, however, remain long under a single government; Pulakēśin had several brothers, who rendered him valuable services during his wars. Being desirous of providing for them and their children, he conferred on them the administration of some of the countries conquered by him, which grew into independent or quasi-independent kingdoms in course of time. Buddhavarṣa probably obtained Aparānta;[1] Dhārāśraya Jayasimha got

1. E. I. xiv p. 152.

the country in the neighbourhood of Nāsik, where his son Nāgavardhana was ruling later under Vikramāditya I[1]. The most powerful of Pulakēśin II's brothers was, of course, Kubja - Viṣṇuvardhana; he accompanied Pulakēśin in his wars and contributed greatly to his success in the field. Kubja - Viṣṇu was appointed as *yuvarāja*, and on the conquest of Mahārāṣṭra, he was placed in charge of its administration with perhaps Acalapura as his headquarters.[2] When Pulakēśin invaded the east coast, Viṣṇuvardhana accompanied him and greatly distinguished himself in the conquest of Kaḷinga and Vengi. The actual subjugation of these countries appears to have been mainly due to his efforts; and it was probably in recognition of his services that Pulakēśin II conferred them on him as a hereditary kingdom.[3] Kubja-Viṣṇu thus became the founder of a new Cāḷukya dynasty in Vengi which controlled the destinies of the coastal Āndhra country during the next four centuries.

1. I. A. vii p. 123.
2. I. A. xix. p. 303 f, *Avantisundarī*.
3. E. I. xviii. p. 258.

CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORY OF THE E. CALUKYAS AS DESCRIBED IN THE CĀLUKYA INSCRIPTIONS

The Cāḷukya conquest of the Coastal Telugu Country:—

"Through the excellencies of their householders, prominent in the pursuit of the three objects of life and having broken the pride of other rulers of the earth, the Kaḷingas with the Kōsalas by his (Pulakēs'in II's) army were made to evince signs of fear.

"Hard pressed (*piṣṭa*) by Him, Piṣṭapura became a fortress not difficult of access; wonderful (to relate), the ways of the *Kali* Age to him were quite inaccessible!

"Ravaged by him, the water of Kunāḷa—coloured with the blood of men killed with many weapons, and the land within it overspread with arrays of accoutred elephants—was like the cloud-covered sky in which the red evening-twilight has risen."[1]

Pulakēs'in II and his younger brother [2] Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana :—

"His (Satyās'raya I's) son was the famous Kīrttivarman (I)................His son (is) one of great splendour............By him, the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the Yuvarāja Viṣṇuvardhana (I), (also called) Viṣamasiddhi........... stationed at Karumarathī (or Karumarathyā)..........on the full-moon tithi of the month) Kārttika, there has been given

1. The Aihole Inscription of Pulakēśin II vv. 26-8. E. I. vi p. 11.
2. V. Rangacharya's translation of the term '*Kaniyasah*' as the youngest is untenable. See E. I. xix. p. 261.

........the village named Alanda-tīrtha in the S'rīnilaya-bhōga, on the north of the *agrahāra* of Aṇopalya and on the bank of the Bhīmarathī...........to Acalasvāmin, Vēdas-vāmin, and Dēvasvāmin, together with Ādityasvāmin and Nāgakumāra"

* * * *

"(This) charter has been written in the augmenting eighth year of the glorious Mahārāja." [1]

Grant of Vēngī to Vīṣṇuvardhana and his lineage.

"The glorious Pulakēs'i - Pṛthvīvallabha - Mahārāja, (who) like (his) father (is) a hero, the abode of truth (Satyās'raya), whose commands are unopposed, suitably honours (the officials of this district and informs them as follows):

"Be it known (to you that), Vallabha, being present in person, the execution (of the present grant) was formally bestowed on Pṛthviduvarāja (*i.e.*, Pṛthivīyuvarāja) who, having defeated the circle of enemies by his arm (which was) a churning-stick of the wicked (people) of the Kali (age), which was skilled in daring (deeds) in many battles, (and) which was wielding the drawn sword, has secured the kingdom to the lineage of his son."

* * * *

"In the year twenty-one of the reign of increasing victory, in the month of Kārttika, on the (great ninth tithi), on a Thursday, at an auspicious moment, the execution of this grant (was bestowed on Pṛthiviyuvarāja" [2]

1. Satāra Grant of Viṣṇuvardhana I. I. A. xix. pp. 310-11.

2. Kopparam Plates of Pulakēśin II, E. I. xviii p. 260.

Viṣṇuvardhana I and the Durjayas.

"His Satyāsraya's younger brother, the renowned lord, named Viṣṇuvardhana destroyed the Durjayas and obtained Vēngī-maṇḍala"[1]

"That king of incomparable strength, having driven out the Durjayas who had occupied the Andhra-Viṣaya, obtained the Vēngī country for the first time and made it his own"[2]

"In the beginning, Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana by the prowess resembling that of Viṣṇu wrested this earth forcibly from the Durjaya and ruled it for eighteen years."[3]

Viṣṇuvardhana I to Viṣṇuardhana IV.

"(The kings mentioned below) ruled Vēngī-maṇḍala (as follows):

Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, the brother of Satyāsraya-Vallabhēndra, 18 years; his son, Sakalalōkāsraya Jayasimha Vallabha 33 years; his younger brother, Indrabhaṭṭāraka's son Viṣṇurāja 9 years; his son, Mangi Dogarāja 25 years; his son, Jayasimha Vallabha 13 years; Kokkili, his younger brother by second mother, six months; his elder brother, Viṣṇurāja, who expelled his younger brother, 35 years; his son Vijayāditya Mahārāja 18 years; and his son, Viṣṇuvardhana ruled Vēngī-maṇḍala Twelve Thousand, for 35 years."[4]

1. Kāṭlapaṟṟu Grant of Guṇaga Vijayāditya, SVTVN. Hindu High School Annual, 1939-40. p. 24.

2. The Paṇḍipāka Grant of Cāḷukya Bhīma I; Mad. Govt. Or. Mss. Lib. (Elliot's collection), 15-6-26, pp. 185-91.

3. Kandayam Plates of Dānārṇava, JAHRS. xi p. 85.

4. Sātalūru Grant of Guṇaga Vijayāditya, Bhārati. i, Part i. pp. 101-2.

Vijayāditya II Narēndra-mṛga-rāja to Kali Viṣṇu-vardhana.—

"His (Viṣṇuvardhana IV's) eldest son, Vijayāditya was like the crown of matted hair of Hara, strong enough to arrest the clamour of the Ganga (Ganges); he was the wind, distinguished by scattering the collection of thundering clouds, that is, the entire Ganga family.....He was the builder of one hundred and eight Narēndrēs'vara temples. Having defeated, during a war of twelve years, his own younger brother, Bhīma Saḷuki, together with the commanders of the army of Vallabhēndra, he took possession of Vēngī-maṇḍala and (ruled it for) forty years." [1]

"Having fought one hundred and eight battles, to expiate the sin, he built on the site of every battle-field all over the Vēngī country a temple dedicated to S'iva called Narēndrēs'vara, and set up *agrahāras*, sheds for giving fresh water to thirsty wayfarers, excavated tanks and planted pleasure-gardens." [2]

"His (Vṣṇuvardhana IV's) son, by name Vijayāditya, who defeated, one Bhīma Salki and the army of the Southern Gangas which was on his side, and who was the author of the hundred and eight temples dedicated to Īs'vara (*S'iva*) ruled for forty years." [3]

"His son, Vijayāditya, was the destroyer of the side of the Southern Gangas,"

"The brave king Vijayāditya,—having fought 108 battles, in which he acquired power by his arm, with

1. Ibid. pp. 102-103.

2. Uraṭūr Grant of Guṇaga Vijayāditya, JTA. i p. 146; Cp. 3 of 1912-13.

3. Telugu Academy Plates of Cāḷukya Bhīma I; JBORS. viii. 2, p. 94. ARE, 1918, Part ii, Para 4.

armies of the Gangas and the Raṭṭas for twelve years, by day and by night, sword in hand, by means of polity and valour,— built the same number (i.e., 108) large temples of S'iva".[1]

"His (Vijayāditya II's) son,....Kali-Viṭṭa (ruled) for one and half years."[2]

Guṇaga-Vijayāditya or Vijayāditya III.

1. Parentage,—

"Like Bhavānī to Mēnā and Himavat, S'īlakāmbā was born to Paramakāmbā and Indrarāja; and to that S'īlakāmbā and that Viṣṇubhūpati was born a son named Vijayāditya"[3]

"Guṇaga - (Vijayāḍitya)........(was) born of Sīlamahādēvī, the moonlight (*candrikā*) emanating from whose moon-like face increases the waters of the ocean, viz., the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, and Kali Viṭṭarasadēva."[4]

"His (Kali-Viṭṭarasa's) eldest (son)....was Vijayāditya ....of whom S'īlaka, born of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indrabhaṭṭāraka (was) the mother".[5]

"That prosperous Vijayāditya ruled the earth with his brothers for forty-four years."[6]

2. Vijayāditya and the Bōyas.

"In the first year of his coronation, proud of his might, he (Vijayāditya) declared war and having invested Lord

1. Ēḍēru Plates of Amma I. SII., i. no. 36, p. 41.
2. Sātalūru Grant of Vijayāditya III, Bhārati i, Part 1. p. 104.
3. Kāṭlapṛṛu Grant of Vijayāditya III, SVTVN. Hindu High School Annual 1939-40, pp. 27-28.
4. The Pōṇangi Plates of Vijayāditya III, ARE. CP. 3 of 1908-9.
5. JTA. i. p. 147.
6. Kandayam Plates of Dānārṇava JAHRS xi, p. 85.

Paṇḍarangu with the office of commander of the army, sent him with the feudatory forces against the twelve Bōya-Koṭṭams, which he (Lord Paṇḍarangu) captured, and having (thus) extended Vēngināḍu, set up the *Tribhuva-nāṁkuśa-bāṇa*. He destroyed the fort of Kaṭṭem, and having been pleased with Kaṇḍukūru, he made it (as famous as) Bejavāḍa".[1]

"He (Paṇḍarangu) caused the Bōyas, who opposed his lord, the peer of Rāma (i e. Vijayāditya), to creep into the forest."[2]

3. Vijayāditya and Mangi Noḷamba.

"He (Vijayāditya) became Paracakra-Rāma, that is, Rāma to the circle of his enemies, by slaying in battle Rāvaṇa of the name of Mangi who was the crest of irreproachable fame."[3]

"When on the field of battle, strewn with horses, soldiers, and infuriated elephants that were struck by various weapons, (Vijayāditya) had slain Mangi, who had defeated the whole host of hostile chiefs, and in the excess of his fury had ridiculed the king's liberality, bravery and power, he was well pleased with the marvellous advice of this best one of the twice-born (i.e. Vinayaḍi Śarman)."[4]

"Having been directed[5] by the lord of the Raṭṭas, this lord, who, possessed the strength of Śiva, (who

1. Addanki Inscription of Vijayāditya III, NDI. ii. O. 3.. JTA xiv, p. 20 ; Bhārati, v. part i. pp. 473 - 84 ; ARE 838 of 1922, EI. xix, pp. 271-75. 275-6.

2. The Dharmavaram Inscription of Cāḷukya Bhīma I, Bhārati, v. pp. 619-20.

3. Sīsali Plates of Vijayāditya III, Bhārati, xxiii. part i, p. 486.

4. Masulipatam Plates of Vijayāditya III, EI. v, p. 126.

5. Substituted for 'challenged' in Hultzsch's translation, as the word '*sancōdita*' does not give this meaning. see. SII, i. p. 42.

resembled) the Sun by the power obtained by his strong arm, and who gained great and excellent might by his strength, which impressed its mark on the universe, conquered the unequalled Gangas, and cut off the head of Mangi in battle." [1]

"He (Vijayāditya) caused the Gangas to mount the Gangakūṭa hill and cut off the head of Mangi." [2]

"His (Kali-Viṭṭara's) son, whose other name was Paracakrarāma, slew in a great battle king Mangi of the large Noḍamba-rāṣṭra, and defeated the Gangas who had taken refuge on the summit of the Gangakūṭa hill" [3]

"On the field of battle, he (Vijayāditya) cut off the head of Mangi with his flashing sword, and fell on the peak of the lofty hill like a thunderbolt on earth." [4]

4. *Vijayāditya and the Raṭṭas* (*Rāṣṭrakūṭas*).

(i) *Nṛpatuṅga*:—

"Nṛpatuṅga, by worshipping his (Vijayāditya's) arm, became lofty among his enemes (*ripu-nṛpatuṅgaḥ*)," [5]

"The lord Guṇaga-Vijayāditya (III), a veritable champion, whose arm was worshipped by the Vallabha king himself." [6]

(ii) *Kannara or Kṛṣṇa II*,—

"In the service of Vallabha who, having ascended the throne, captured Rāhaṇa, he (Paṇḍarangu) saw in the

1. Ēḍēru Plates of Amma I, SII. i no. 36, p. 42.
2. Attili grant of Cāḷukya Bhīma I, JTA, xi p. 254.
3. Intēru Grant of Bādapa: cf.. no. 6 of 1938-39 (unpublished); and Maliyampūṇḍi Grant of Amma II, EI, ix, p. 55
4. Kandayam Plates of Dānārṇava, JAHRS xi p. 85.
5. Sīsali Plates of Vijayāditya III, Bhārati xxiiii P. 486.
6. Kalucambarru Grant of Amma II, *Sākṣād Vallabha nṛpa Samabhyarccita-bhujaḥ* EI, vii p. 186.

battle-field, the back of king Kannara in a manner apparent to all; destroyed the pride of a king called Sankila; he offered protection to the Cōḷa who was reduced to helplessness, when an army came against him; Paṇḍarangu being sent by Vallabha-Guṇakanalla, entered Acalapura, Kiraṇapura, Dahala-niruta, and Daḷe-nāṇḍu so as to make it known to the whole earth." [1]

"His (Kali - Viṭṭara's) son, burnt Kiraṇapura, Acalapura and the great Nellūrpura, and acquired for ever the renowned name of *Tripura-martya-mahēśvara* or the earthly Mahēśvara to the three cities." "He was victorious over Kṛṣṇa in battle, and who is there fit to be compared with him in daring?" [2]

"The heroic king who got (together) all his forces, frightened Kṛṣṇa and Sankili, and burnt their city completely." [3]

"His (Kali - Viṭṭara's) son Vijayāditya, whose other name was Paracakrarāma,....having fought with Sankila, the king of Sad-Dāhala, who was joined by the fierce Vallabha, protected the earth for forty-four years."

"He, the hero Pāṇḍaranga, consumed Kiraṇapuraṁ, the residence of Kṛṣṇarāja, as Śiva burnt Tripuram; therefore, the enumeration of the valiant exploits of him whose fame is pure, is impossible even to one with a thousand mouths." [4]

"Having caused (the king) named Kannara together with the fearless Sankila to depart from the open country

1. Bhārati v. pp. 619-20.
2. Attili grant of Cāḷukya Bhīma I, JTA xi. p. 254.
3. Ēḍēru Plates of Amma I, SII. i (verse 10.) p. 39.
4. Maliyampūṇḍi Grant of Amma II, NDI. i. pp. 160-173.

to inaccessible (places), the king Vijayāditya being led to the chief) named Baddega, who was rapidly advancing towards him, offered him protection."[1]

"Vijayāditya .... whose renown was proclaimed as Guṇakkenallān rules the Dakṣiṇāpatha with the Tri-Kaḷinga country." "The third Vijayāditya among them has set up near the gate of his palace the symbols of the Gangā, Yamunā, the Sun, the Moon and the Pāli banner."[2]

Vijayāditya's other victories.

"He took silver from the Gangas of Kaḷinga, elephants from the king of Kōsala, and gold from the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas."[3]

Vijayāditya III's titles :—Manuja-prākāra, Guṇaga, Raṇaraṅga-Śūdraka, Vikrama-dhavaḷa, Paracakra-Rāma, Nṛpati-mārtaṇḍa, Birudanka-Bhīma, Aras'anka-kēsari,[4] Vallabha, Guṇakkēnalla.[4]

Cāḷukya Bhīma I.

"Viṣṇuvardhana, well-known by his other name Cāḷukya Bhīma, the eldest son of his (Vijayāditya III's) brother, the Yuvarāja Vikramāditya, who overcame the circuit of the earth by his prowess,....was crowned king of the kingdom of the world, adorned by the girdle of the four oceans. The excellent king Cāḷukya Bhīma, having defeated his kinsmen with large forces of elephants and horses, and having, by the strength of his arm, slain in several battles........Kṛṣṇarāja's army protects the whole earth."[5]

1. Kandayam Plates of Dānārṇava, JAHRS. xi. p. 85.
2. Sātalūru Grant of Vijayāditya III, Bhārati i. Part 1. pp. 104-5.
3. JTA. xi. p. 254. of. no. 1 Cf 1913-14.
4. ARE. 1909, Part i, i, Para. 58 p. 106. Bhārati, v. pp. 619-20.
5. Kasimkōṭa Plates of Cāḷukya Bhīma I. CP 14 of 1908-9.

" Cāḷukya-Bhīma....was born to his (Vijayāditya III's) brother, *Yuvarāja* Vikramaravi and Veṁgāmbikā. Having defeated this Raṭṭa army, he rooted out his enemies completely. Having crowned himself, the peer of Kubēra, was permanently established in the land." [1]

" The dear son of his (Vijayāditya's) younger brother *Yuvarāja* Vikramāditya, who overcame by his prowess the circuit of the whole earth; and drowned in the ocean of waters of whose sword, the hostile forces of Kṛṣṇa Vallabha melted quickly in battle like the four-fold forces made of clay. Moreover, as the darkness overspreading the world is scattered by the rays of the Sun appearing on the Rising mountain (*Udayagiri*), struck at the back by the arrows discharged from the bow of which lustrous person (*i.e*, Cāḷukya Bhīma) seated on the large frontal globes of his elephant, the Karṇāṭas, and the Lāṭas on their prancing steeds took to flight.

" That Sarvalōkāśraya Śri Cālukya Bhīma -Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara....having summoned the Rāṣṭrakūṭa householders (of Kaṇḍēruvāṭi Viṣaya) commands them as follows :—' Let it be known to you, my dear son (a lad, of) sixteen years, who surpassed greatly the Moon by his pleasantness, Aja (by his skill) in fine arts, Karṇa by his liberality, Manu by his conduct, Kāma by his beauty, Yama by his ability in battle, and the Sun in nourishing life, in the battle of Niravadyapura, mounting on an " elephant he devoured smilingly, like a lion the fleeing deer, the fierce, irresistible Vallabha army consisting of elephants, horses, and archers. In the battle fought at the village of Peruvangūru, having slain (the commander) named Guṇḍaya, together with the army of the Vallabha, he destroyed his

1. Paṇḍipāka Grant of Cāḷukya Bhīma I, Mad. Govt. Or. Mss. Lib. 15-6-26, pp. 185-91, JTA. xi. pp. 256-57.

kinsmen (*dāyādas*) and gave me the extensive earth cleared of all trouble.

"He gave willingly money and lands to those that desired them; inspired the minds of his enemies with fear; filled the qarters (of the earth) with his glory and departed to heaven.

"Having performed the obsequies of that (prince) of happy abode, known by the second name of Iṟimaṟti-gaṇḍa, who was devoted to (the service of) the humble, the poor, and the kindred, on the occasion of his *nityaśrāddha* ....(the king) granted the village of Veḍatalūru in the North-Kaṇḍēṟuvāṭi-Viṣaya....to brahmans....assembled (in the court).[1]

Cāḷuya Bhīma and Kusumāyudha:—

"This hero (Cāḷukya) Bhīma I of the victorious abode (Bejavāḍa?), the causer of delight to the learned, being pleased, granted a village permanently on the occasion of his coronation (*paṭṭa-bandha*) at the request of the virtuous Kusumāyudha, by the rays of whose moon-like glory all the quarters of the earth and the sky were illuminated."[2]

"Kusumāyudha, the ornament of the family of Raṇamarda, having re-conquered by the strength of his arm the estate of Raṇamardaka, which fell into the hands of Kannara Ballaha, invested Cāḷukya Bhīma, Sauca-kandarpa, the lord of Vēṅgī and the eldest son of king Vikramāditya, with the necklace (*kaṇṭhiya*) and fastened (on his forehead) the fillet (of royalty). Having determined to protect the whole earth by helping (the king) with his sword, Kusumāyudha shared with Viṣṇuvardhana (i.e., Cāḷukya Bhīma I) the sovereignty over the country of Vēṅgī beginning with Mañcikoṇḍa-nāḍu."[3]

1. Masulipatam Plates of Cāḷukya Bhīma I, Cp. 1 of 1913-14.
2. Bezwada Plates of Cāḷukya Bhīma I, EI. v. p. 127.
3. Koṟavi Inscription of Kusumāyudha's eldest son, Telingana Inscriptions, *Itara* No. 12.

"After him (Vijayāditya III), the son of his younger brother Vikramāditya, (viz.) King Cālukya Bhīma I, whose other name was Drōhārjuna, illumined the country of Vēngī,—which had been overrun by the army of the Raṭṭas and of his kinsmen just as by dense darkness after the sunset,—by the flashing of his sword, the only companion of his valour, and became king"[1]

"He (Cāḷukya Bhīma I) defeated the army of Kṛṣṇa Vallabha together with his own kinsmen."[2]

Vijayāditya, Kollabhigaṇḍa

"His (Cāḷukya Bhīma I's) son, Vijayāditya went to heaven, when he had ruled the Vēngī-maṇḍala joined with the Trikaḷinga forest for six months."[3]

"After him (Cāḷukya Bhīma I) his son Vijayāditya, with the help of his single elephant, defeated the chiefs of Kaḷinga with an entire squad of animals with which they opposed him. The beautiful (monarch) weighed himself in a balance against shining gold, and set up a pillar of victory (which was) an embodiment of his fame at Viraja. He ruled for six months."[4]

"His (Cāḷukya Bhīma I's) son Vijayāditya was famed for his wonderful strength...............

"Having destroyed the crowd of his (viz his father's) foes by the strength of his arm, (and) through his valour, while his father was still living. and having conquered after (his father's death) the crowd of his own enemies, and the association of his external foes by his extensive wisdom,

1. Ēḍēṟu Plates of Amma I, SII. i. No. 36 p. 42.
2. Kaluchambaṟṟu Plates Amma II, EI. vii. p. 177 f.
3. Masulipatam Plates Amma I, EI. v. p. 134.
4. Digumaṟṟu Grant of Cāḷukya Bhīma II, IA. xiii. pp. 213-14.

(this) lord,—whose plans were backed up by invincible and great power, who was satisfied by the enjoyment of all his desires, who longed for (another) kingdom, and who had obtained glory,—went to Indra in order to conquer one equal half of (Indra's throne).[1]

"His (Cāḷukya Bhīma I's) son whose name was Kollabhigaṇḍa,—

"The renowned (and) unequalled hero, Vijayāditya, who granted gold in profusion, established a pillar of victory, and ruled the earth for half a year."[2]

"His (Cāḷukya Bhīma I's) son, Vijayāditya, with the strength of Indra, cut down the enemy kings (*ripubhūbhṛt*) with the sword (*asi*) in his hand. He who was skilled in war conquered the quarters, set up a pillar of victory at Viraja, and weighed himself in a balance against gold. The nnrivalled Kṣatriya who resembled the Sun ruled for half year."[3]

"His (Cāḷukya Bhīma's) son was named Vijayāditya; ruled for six months; having conquered the city called Viraja, he went to heaven."[4]

Amma I.

"To that (King), who was like Śiva in appearance, was born in Pallava Mahādevī of Umā-like form a son called Amma resembling Kumāra."[5]

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1. Ēḍēṟu Plates of Amma I, S II, i. No. 36 p. 42.
2. Piṭhāpuram Pillar Inscription of Mallapadēva, EI iv. p. 240.
3. Pulivaṟṟu Grant of Amma I, Cp. 3 of 1923.24.
4. Inungaṟu Grant of Rājarāja II ; 23 of 1916-17.
5. Pulivaṟṟu Grant of Amma I, Cp. 3 of 1923-24.

"His (Vijayāditya's) son Amma, whose other name was Rājamahēndra,—having destroyed from afar his enemies, as the rising Sun destroys from afar) the darkness, and having drawn his sword which broke the dishonest hearts of his feudatory relatives, who had joined the party of his natural adversaries,—won the affection of the subjects, and of the army of his father and of his grandfather by his might, which was backed up by the three (regal) powers."[1]

"His (Vijayāditya's) son, King Amma (ruled for seven years."[2]

Vijayāditya II to Cāḷukya Bhīma II.

"After king Gaṇḍaragaṇḍa (Amma I) went to (the world of the Gods), his son (Vijayāditya) was crowned; (having expelled) Vijayāditya, Tāḷapa became king and ruled the earth...Vikramāditya (having killed) Tāḷapa, bore the crown....With his prowess as his only ally, "he fought one huudred battles for eight years, and took the kingdom (from his enemies) along with fame."[3]

"His (Amma I's) son Vijayāditya (ruled) for half a month. After him Tāḷaparāja (ruled) for (one) month. Having conquered him, Vikramāditya, the son of Cāḷukya Bhīma ruled for (one) year over the country of Vēngī together with Trikaḷinga. Chāḷukya Bhīma, the son of Vijayāditya, and brother of Ammarāja by a different mother, ties the (royal tiara for as long a time as the moon and stars endure. Having conquered in battle with his arm Tāta Bikyana, and Dhaḷaga, Munniṟiva and

1. Ēḍeṟu Plates of Amma I. SII. i. No. 36, p. 42.
2. Nūtimaḍugu Inscription of Vikramāditya II, EI. xxv. p. 191.
3. Ibid pp. 191-92.

Rājamārtaṇḍa (i e. the Sun among kings) he causes his fame to be sung by people."[1]

"Having expelled his (Amma I's) son, Vijayāditya, a boy, who was invested with the necklace (*kanṭhika*) of royalty, crowned, and anointed, Tāḷādhipa (ruled) for a month. Having killed him in battle, king Vikramāditya, son of king Cāḷukya Bhīma ruled the earth for eleven months. Having conquered him in battle, Amma's son Bhīma, who had the strength of Bhīma, ruled the earth for eleven months. Malla, the eldest son of Tāḷa, slew him in battle, ruled seven years. King Bhīma expelled him and took the family territory with the crown."[2]

"Having overcome his (Amma I's) infant son, Tāḷa-nṛpa, the son of Yuddhamalla (I), the paternal uncle of Cāḷukya Bhīma (I) ruled for one month. Having slain at the head of a rough battle this Tāḷa-nṛpa together with crowds of different vassals, who were joined by a superior army (and) had troops of furious elephants, the glorious king Vikramāditya (II), the son of king Cāḷukya Bhīma (I), of very fierce power, righteously ruled the earth for one year surrounded by the girdle of the oceans. Afterwards at the setting of (i.e. the death) of Vikramāditya (II), the kinsmen princes who were desirous of the kingdom, (viz.) Yuddhamalla, Rājamārtaṇḍa Kanṭhikā-Vijayāditya &c., were fighting for supremacy, oppressing the subjects like *Rākṣasas* (at the setting of the Sun). In mere war, five years passed away. Then succeeded, the fierce warrior, who slew among those Rājamārtaṇḍa; who in a battle made Kanṭhikā-Vijayāditya and Yuddhamalla go to a foreign country; the curved sword wielded by whose

1. Kōlavennu Plates of Cāḷukya Bhīma II, SII, i. No. 37 p. 46.
2. Digumarru Grant of Cāḷukya Bhīma II, IA. xiii. p. 214.

strong arm despatched to the abode of Death many others who, though respectable kings had shown themselves, puffed up by evil conduct (and) causing distress to the country; and whose command is carried on the head like a garland by the eager kings of the earth.

"This Rāja Bhīma, the son of Vijayāditya (IV) and the grandson of Cāḷukya Bhīma (I), righteously ruled the surface of the world for twelve years."[1]

"At that juncture, the lord Bhīma (II),—who was the son of the famous Kollabhigaṇḍa (Vijayāditya IV); who was a brother by a different mother, of him (Amma I who had the extolled name of Rājamahēndra; and who surpassed the epic hero Bhīma in strength and majesty,—rose up to conquer, purifying the eastern region. Having unaided indeed slain the glorious Rājamayya, and Dhaḷaga who excelled far and wide, and the fierce Tāta Bikki, and Bijja who was always) ready for war, and the excessively powerful Ayyapa, terrible and savage, and the extremely great army sent by King Gōvinda, and Lōva Bikki, the ruler of the Cōḷas, and the valorous Yuddhamalla—(all of them possessed of marshalled arrays of elephants:–Verily this glorious Rāja Bhīma II, ...guarded the whole world for twelve years."[2]

"His (Amma I's son Bēta-Vijayāditya (ruled) a fortnight; then, Tāḷapa, a month....Having defeated him, Vikramāditya, son of Cāḷukya Bhīma (I), (ruled) one year. The kingdom was (then) apportioned among themselves by the feudatory Śabara chiefs, the commanders of the Vallabha army and others for seven years, during which

1. Maliyampūṇḍi Grant of Amma II, EI ix, p. 55.
2. Kaluchambarru Grant of Amma II, EI, vii. p. 190,

the weak and contemptible Mallarasarāja was crowned king. Then King Bhīma, the son of Mēḷāmbā and Vijayāditya, having rooted out all of them, ruled the earth for twelve years." [1]

"His (Vijayāditya IV's) son, Ammarāja (ruled for seven years. After him Tālaparāja ruled for one) month. Having expelled him, Vikramāditya, the son of Cāḷukya Bhīma (I), ruled) for (one) year. After him Yuddhamalla (ruled for seven years. Having conquered and expelled from the country th's haughty one, and having made the other heirs to assume the appearance of stars, which were absorbed in the rays of the Sun, the younger brother of Amma, (viz.) Bhīma, who resembled Arjuna, and who was possessed of terrible power, enjoyed for twelve years the earth, just as the bearer of the thunderbolt (Indra) does the great heaven." [2]

Amma II, Bādapa, aud Danārṇava.

"Ammarāja (II, who was born to him (Cāḷukya Bhīma II by Lōkamahādevī, as Kumāra to Mahēśvara by Umā; who, as the eastern lord of mountains, to redden the world, (puts on himself) the Sun, put on, to please the world, the fillet in the twelfth year of his birth, in the year reckoned by the mountains (7, the flavours (6) and the Vasus (8)—(i.e. 867, of the Śaka era, in the month of Mārgaśira, on the thirteenth day of the dark (fortnight), on Thursday, in the Maitra (Anūrādha) nakṣatra, while the Sun (was) in Dhanus, in the Ghaṭa lagna." [2]

1. Māngallu Grant of Amma II, Cp. I of 1916-17.
2. Madras Museum Plates of Amma II. SII. i. P. 49.
3. Maliyampūṇḍi Grant of Amma II, EI. IX, p. 55.

"Having forcibly driven out (from the kingdom) the boy Amma (II), who was invested with the fillet of sovereignty, Bādapa, the son of Yuddhamalla (II), became king." [1]

"This king Bhīma (II), the personification of Mahēśvara, begot by his wife Lōkamahādēvī, who resembled Umā in form, a son called Ammarāja, who resembled Kumāra. This (Ammarāja) ruled well the Vēngī country with Trikaḷinga, according to the injunctions of Dharma. Bādapa with the help of the Vallabha (king) called Karṇarāja drove away from the country the prosperous (king) called Ammarāja. Having defeated the *dāyādas* (agnates) and crushed the multitude of enemies, given a heap of things to supplicants and honoured his relations, the Adhirāja called Bādapa, son of Yuddhamalla (II), the lord of Vēngī, rules the earth and conducts himself according to the injunctions of Manu, adorned with all virtues." [2]

"After him (Vikramāditya II), (ruled) Bhīma's (Cāḷukya Bhīma I's) younger brother Tāḷabhūpāla; his son Śrī Yuddhamalla (II); his son Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Bādapa; his younger brother Viṣṇuvardhana Tāḷabhūpāla." [3]

"That lord's (Cāḷukya Bhīma II's) son, Amma (II), the foremost among kings, who had valour as his wealth; who brightened the quarters by his pure glory; who, with the help of his single elephant, slew in battle nine elephants of the enemy; and who devoted his mind to Dharma ruled the earth for five and twenty years.

1. Intēṟu Grant of Bādapa, Cp. No. 6 of 1938-39 (unpublished).
2. Arambāka Plates of Bādapa, EI. xix. p. 146.
3. Siripūṇḍi Grant of Tāḷa II, Cp. 5 of 1908-9, ARE 1909, ii. para 61. EI. xix. p. 154.

"Ammarāja caused a *dāyāda* (agnate), who was a famous warrior, to ascend to heaven by means of a series of steps (made up of) hordes of elephants felled by his fierce sword on the field of battle."[1]

"His (Cāḷukya Bhīma II's) son Ammarāja, who had the majesty of Indra, having been crowned protected the earth for eleven years. Then the vanquisher of enemies departed to Kaḷinga, on account of the anger of Kṛṣṇa. Then Dānārṇava, the son of Ankidēvī, his brother by another mother, having obtained the kingdom from the Vallabha ruled it causing pleasure to all people."[2]

"His elder step-brother, Dānapēśa who conquered (his) enemies with the help of his strong arms became the king of the excellent Vēngī country; he now rules this earth."[3]

"King Dānārṇava, who always honoured the needy with gifts, having killed that Ammarāja (II), whose prowess in war was (unbearable) like the fierce heat of the Sun, ruled the earth for three years."[4]

Interregnum.

"After king Dānārṇava, the equal of Indra, through the power of fate, Andhra-maṇḍala together with Kaḷinga became masterless for twenty-seven years."[5]

"After Dānārṇava, by the working of Destiny, this Andhra country became anarchical for twenty-seven years."[6]

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1. Pabhuparru Plates of Śaktivarman I, JTA. ii. p. 408.
2. Māngallu Grant of Amma II, Cp. 1 of 1916-17.
3. Kandyam Plates of Dānārṇava; JAHRS. xi. p. 86.
4. Pennēru Grant of Śaktivarman I, Madras Govt. Or Mss. Lib. 15—6—26. i. pp. 258-269.
5. Ibid.
6. The Telugu Academy Plates of Śaktivarman I, Cp. 15 of 1917-18.

Saktivarman I.

" In the meantime, the son of Dānārṇava and Āryā-mahādēvī, celebrated as Śaktivarman (rose to power). Even the boyhood of this lion was splendid. In the Dramiḷas war he killed by his strength a formidable elephant. That personification of daring killed with his own hands Ēkavīra sent by Cōḍa Bhīma; Baddema and Mahārāja both of whom were frightened (?)........He pulled out with roots the vigorous spacious (mighty) tree (viz.) Jaṭā-Cōḍa with the grown up lofty and strong trunk (well-developed divisions of the army) and with roots (feet) struck into (placed on) the tops (heads) of hills (kings)." [1]

" Śaktivarman (I), who obtained glory in his boyhood by the wounds received by him in the Cōḷa war; who put to flight the powerful Baddema, Mahārāja and others; and who killed the spies (?) sent by the enemy to poison him, makes manifest to the world his unequalled strength.

" Laughing within himself at Gōd Nārāyaṇa, who had to lay aside his own form and by taking different sportful forms to destroy the demons, this Cāḷukya Nārāyaṇa in enmity sent (?) to death Bhīma Cōḍa, the counterpart of Rāvaṇa." [2]

" He (Śaktivarman) defeated king Badde and Mahārāja in the battle. He even sent Karikāla Cōḷa to Yama (death) in the front of the battle." [3]

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1. Pabhuparṟu grant of Śaktivarman I, JTA. ii, p. 409.
2. Telugu Academy Plates of Śaktivarman I, Cp. 15 of 1917-18.
3. Pennēru Grant of Śaktivarman I, Madras Govt. Or Mss. Lib. 15—6—26. i. pp. 258-69.

"At this point, the son of king Dāna, that glorious Saktivarman, who resembled (Indra) the king of the Gods, having overcome the enemies by the force of (his) valour, protected the earth for twelve years." [1]

Vimalāditya.

"The son of this same king Dāna and of (his) virtuous great queen Aryā (was) king Vimalāditya, who made the family of Satyāśraya i.e., Polakēśin II prosper.

"In the Śaka year contained in the fires (3) the fires (3), and the openings of the body (9),—(i.e., Śaka-Samvat 933),—in the month of Vṛṣabha, in the bright fortnight, on the sixth tithi, in (the nakṣatra) Puṣya (combined with) Thursday, in the lagna Simha, he was publicly anointed.

* * * *

"At its free will his great valour in battle, like the edge of the sharp axe, cuts off the Saurāṣṭras; like a wife who captivates the mind, he deprives the Śakas, Lāṭas (and) Gūrjaras of (their) courage........[2]

"Vimalāditya, his (Śaktivarman's) younger brother resembling him in good looks, having obtained Kundava as his chief queen accomplished his cherished object, and was praised by the people.

"Like the Sun he protected the sea-girt earth by the strength of his arms for seven years."[3]

1. Raṇastipūṇḍi Grant of Vimalāditya, EI. vi. p. 359.

2. Ibid.

3. Kōrumelli Grant of Rājarāja, IA. xiv. p. 53.

Rājarāja Narēndra.

From the king Vimalāditya and (his) queen Kundava, with the form resembling the goddess of fortune of the Cōḷa king, was born the prosperous Rājarāja, the crest-jewel of the Cāḷukyas, the Moon to the ocean of the Lunar race, who, honoured by famous kings, bore, by the strength of his arms the goddess of prosperity of the kingdom of the earth."

"To protect the earth he was anointed in the Saka years (reckoned by) the Vēdas (4), seas (4) and treasures (9) (i.e., in Śaka-Samvat 944), when the Sun was in the sign of the lion, on Guruvāsara (Thursday), the second day of the dark fortnight, Uttarābhādra, in the excellent Vaṇiji-lagna."[1]

"To Vimalāditya who resembled Viṣṇu and Kundāmbikā, born in the Cōḷa family like Lakṣmī in the milk-ocean to Rājarāja and his queen, a son (i.e., Rājarāja), who like another Cupid lives in the hearts of the women of the three worlds, was born.

"The necklace (of royalty) set with gems became an ornament to his neck (even) in his boyhood like a garland which the Goddess of earth, attached to merit, presented to him in choosing him as her lord (husband).

* * * * *

Moreover,

"(There is) the illustrious (king) called Rājēndra Cōḍa, the chief ornament of the Cōḍa family, whose foot-stool became red by the rays of lustre emanating from the gems set in the crowns of all kings; and by the showers of whose liberality the good were gladdened.

* * * *

1. Ibid, p. 53.

"Having heard of the greatness of his family, courtesy, liberality, and honour (of Rājarāja) and being completely satisfied, this king of the Cōḍas, Madhurāntaka made with affection, his chaste daughter, named Ammangā, the chief queen of the Ornament of the Cāḷukya (family).

* * * *

"There is the great general wellknown as Rājarāja Brahmamahārāja, the creeper of whose fame was nourished by the water of the favour of king Madhurāntaka. His great serpent-like arms were capable of protecting the great treasures of the prosperous kingdom of king Rājēndra Cōḍa. As soon as he heard the command of my matchless maternal uncle, king Rājēndra Cōḍa, setting out from the south, at the head of a powerful army, he came at once to the Andhra country like another Kāla (the God of Death) thirsting for the blood of the enemy. Another commander named Uttama-Śōḍa Cōḍagōn, who gave satisfaction to his master by his devotion and care, also accompanied him. Another officer called Uttama-Cōḍa Milāḍ-Uḍaiyān also came as the commander of that irresistible army devoted to its master. The triad of generals shone like 'the three (sacrificial) fires,' desirous of consuming the forest of the Karṇāṭaka army completely. Between the generals of the Karāṇṭa and Dramiḷa there ensued a battle which became fierce by the impact of the (opposing) four-fold armies...........Of those (three) Dramiḷa generals, (the one) called Rājarāja Brahma Mahārāja who, at the command of my matchless maternal uncle, Madhurāntakadēva, having met the Karṇāṭaka generals fought with them, and departed together with them to heaven. I have built a temple dedicated to Śiva in his name in the village of Kalidiṇḍi. In the name also of the other (two), known as Uttama-Cōḍa

Cōḍagōn and Uttama-Cōḍa Milāḍ-Uḍaiyān, I have built two Śiva temples........"[1]

Rājarāja and Vijayāditya.

"The son of that Mummaḍi Bhīma (i.e. Vimalāditya), the great and resolute king named Rājarāja ruled the earth for twelve years. Having expelled that king Rājarāja forcibly from the country, his half-brother, Vijayāditya, son of Vimalāditya, wrested the kingdom from him."

"The bold and heroic king Vijayāditya, son of Rājamārtāṇḍa, the ornament of Lunar family, is anointed (as the ruler of) the empire of Vēngī in the Śaka years eyes (2), arrows (5), and treasures (9) (i.e. Śaka-Saṁvat 952), when the Sun is in the Karka on Sunday, su. di. 5, Uttara-Phalgunī, Kanyā lagna."[2]

Vijayāditya VII and S'aktivarman II.

"The son of that fortunate (king, i.e., Vimalāditya), Rājarāja of radiant splendour, the foremost (prince) of the royal family, who was competent to protect the earth ruled for one and forty years. Moreover,—the ever fortunate Vijayāditya, the protector of heroes, and the object of the praise of kings, was born to Vimalāditya by Mēḍava Mahādēvi, the supreme Goddess of fortune of the Cōḍa family. In the absence (after the death ?) of his half-brother Rājarāja, he appropriated the kingdom of the earth. Having taken the kingdom, he entrusted the earth, on account of his affection, to his son Śaktivarman. When his son went, by the decree of fate, like Abhimanyu, to

1. Kalidiṇḍi Plates of Rājarāja, Bhārati xx. pp. 446-50.

2. Pāmulavāka Plates of Vijayāditya VII, JAHRS. ii. p. 287.

heaven without enjoying (the kingdom), Vijayāditya like Pārtha (Arjuna) having abandoned all desire for pleasures sat (inactive). (However) being advised sufficiently by the wise hereditary well-wishers of the family, he somehow made up his mind to rule the earth for establishing Dharma."[1]

Kulōttunga's address to Vīra Cōḍa.

"Being desirous of the Cōḷa kingdom, I formerly conferred the kingdom of Vēngī on my paternal uncle, king Vijayāditya.

"Having ruled over the country for fifteen years, this god-like prince, who resembled the five-faced (Siva) in power, has gone to heaven.

"This obedient one (viz.) Rājarāja II) took up that burden (viz., the kingdom of Vēṅgī) which the emperor, (his) father, gave him with these words, though he did not like the separation from him."[2]

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1. Ryāli Plates of Vijayāditya VII, JAHRS. ix. ii. p. 31.

2. Cellūr Plates of Vira Cōla, SII. i. p. 60.

APPENDIX

ON THE DATE OF THE KALIDIṆḌI PLATES OF RĀJARĀJA

The date of this record cannot be fixed with absolute certainty, owing to the mutilation of the last plate in which it must have been given; but it is not impossible to discover the probable time of its issue with the help of the data furnished by the plates as well as the contemporaneous Cōḷa and the Western Cāḷukya records. The Kalidiṇḍi Plates mention two important facts :—(1) that the coronation of Rājarāja was celebrated on August 16, A.D. 1022, and (2) that as soon as the news of the Western Cāḷukya invasion of the Āndhra country reached the Cōḷa court, an army was sent to oppose it by Rājēndra Cōḷa I. As Rājēndra Cōḷa I continued to rule until A.D. 1044, the invasion must have taken place between A.D. 1022 and 1044. The probable time when, during this interval of twenty-two years, this invasion could have taken place must now be determined

The Government Epigraphist is of opinion that the inscription was 'issued shortly after the king's accession to the throne in Śaka 944 (A.D. 1022)'.[1] This date cannot be accepted, as it is too early for the record. In the first place, the Western Cāḷukyas, who suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Cōḷas on the battle-field of Muśangi in A.D. 1021-22, could not have sent an expedition to Vēngī so soon after their defeat. It cannot be presumed that the invasion under consideration took

1. ARE. 1937-38. Part ii. para 14.

CHAPTER V

THE EASTERN CĀḶUKYA CHRONOLOGY

One of the most important problems in the Eastern Cāḷukya history, which still awaits solution, is the question of the chronology of the kings of the dynasty. This is not due to any dearth of material. The Eastern Cāḷukya charters furnish, as a matter of fact, long lists of successive kings of the dynasty specifying the exact duration for which each of them ruled. The evidence of the inscriptions is not always consistent; and they differ from one another occasionally by giving different figures for indicating the length of one and the same reign. The length of the reign of each monarch, along with the variations, is given below to facilitate the discussion on the subject:—

(1) Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana or Viṣṇuvardhana I, 18 years.
(2) Jayasimhavallabha I, 30 years – 33 years.[1]
(3) Indrabhaṭṭāraka, 7 days.
(4) Viṣṇuvardhana II, 9 years.
(5) Mangi-Yuvarāja, 25 years.
(6) Jayasimhavallabha II, 13 years.
(7) Kokkili, 6 months.

1. IA. vii. p. 15. The British Museum Plates of Amma II is the only record which assigns to Jayasimha I a reign of 30 years.

(8) Viṣṇuvardhana III,	37 years—35 years.[1]
(9) Vijayāditya I,	18 years—19 years.[2]
(10) Viṣṇuvardhana IV,	35 years—36 years.[3]
(11) Vijayāditya II,	40 years = 41 years, 48 years.[4]
(12) Viṣṇuvardhana V,	1½ years—1⅔ years.[5]

1. Sātalūru Grant, Bhārati, I. i. p. 102.

2. Though most of the Eastern Cāḷukya records assign to Vijayāditya I only a period of 18 years rule, some of the copper-plate charters of Guṇaga Vijayāḍitya III, e.g., Uraṭūru (JTA. i. p. 140), Pāmulapāḍu (JOR. ix. p. 21 n. 3), Pōṇangi (Cp. 3 of 1908-09) and Gunṭūru Plates (Cp. 5 of 1911-12), as well as the Attili Grant (JTA xi. p. 241, JBORS. viii p. 82 f), and Masulipatam Plates (Cp. 1 of 1913-14) of Cāḷukya Bhīma I, state that he ruled for 19 years.

3. Satalūru Grant, Bhārati I. Part i. p. 102.

4. Satalūru (Bhārati. I. i. p. 103) and Gunṭūru Plates (Cp. 5 of 1911-12) of Guṇaga Vijayāditya III; all the copper plate charters of the time of Cāḷukya Bhima I (EI. v. p. 127, Cp. 14 of 1908-09, Madras Govt. Or. Mss. Lib. 15—6—26, pp. 185-191, Cp. 1 of 1913-14, JBORS. viii. p. 82 f); the Masulipatam (EI. v. p. 131 f) and Kōlavennu Plates (SII. i. No. 37 p. 43 f) of Cālukya Bhīma II; and the Nammūru Grant of Amma II (EI. xii, p. 61) assign to him a reign of 40 years. The Uraṭūru (JTA. i. p. 140), Pāmulapāḍu (JOR ix. p. 21 n. 6), and the Pōṇangi Plates of Vijayāditya III (Cp. 3 of 1908-09) state that Vijayāditya II ruled for 41 years; whereas the Digumarṟu Grant (IA. xiii. p. 213) and the Masulipatam Plates (EI. v. p. 134 f) of Cāḷukya Bhīma II as well as all the other Eastern Cāḷukya copper plate records allot to him a reign of 48 years.

5. Cp. 5 of 1911-12, JTA, i. p. 140, Cp. 3 of 1908-09.

(13)	Guṇaga Vijayāditya or, Vijayāditya III,	44 years.
(14)	Cāḷukya Bhīma I,	30 years.
(15)	Vijayāditya IV,	6 months.
(16)	Amma I,	7 years.
(17)	Vijayāditya V,	15 days.
(18)	Tāḍapa,	1 month.
(19)	Vikramāditya,	1 year, 11 months—9 months.[1]
(20)	Bhīma,	6 months.[2]
(21)	Yuddhamalla,	7 years.
(22	Cāḷukya Bhīma II,	12 years.
(23)	Amma II Vijayāditya VI,	25 years.
(24)	Dānārṇava,	3 years.
(25)	Interregnum,	27 years.
(26)	Śaktivarman I,	12 years.
(27)	Vimalāditya,	7 years.
(28)	Rājarāja	40 years—41 years.[3]
(29)	Śaktivarman II,	1 year.
(30)	Vijayāditya VII,	15 years.

1. Kōlavennu Plates (SII. i. No. 37, p. 43 f) of Cāḷukya Bhīma II; the Maliyampūṇḍi, Guṇḍugolanu, Masulipatam, Vaṇḍram, Vēmulūrupāḍu and Nammūru Grants (EI. ix. p. 47f, IA. xiii p. 248, EI. v. p. 139f; EI. ix. p. 134f, EI. xviii, p. 161, EI. xii, p. 61f) of Amma II assign to him one full year. The Kalucumbarṟu Grant (EI. vii. p. 177f) reduces the period of his rule to nine months. All the other records state that he ruled for 11 months.

2. Digumarṟu Grant of Cāḷukya Bhīma II, IA. xiii, p. 213.

3. JAHRS. ix. p. 31.

Although the duration of each reign is thus specified, it has not been possible to formulate a consistent chronological scheme, owing to certain defects peculiar to the chronological data furnished by the Eastern Cāḷukya records. In the first place, the exact date of the Cāḷukyan conquest of Vēngī and the foundation of Eastern Cāḷukya monarchy, on which hinges the entire system of their chronology, is not known. Secondly, the method adopted by the kings of the dynasty in dating their records is defective, and leave out astronomical details necessary for fixing their date. They are generally dated in the regnal years of the kings, and mention but rarely the corresponding year of any era, which may be helpful in determining the exact time of their issue. Even the few records which mention the Śaka era do not offer much help, as they refer only to the date of the coronation of the king in question, and not to the year of their issue. Though the order of succession and the duration of each reign are specified in the inscriptions, their usefulness is curtailed to a great extent by variations in the length of certain reigns found in them. Another fact which adds to the complexity of the problem is the adoption of a double system, *amānta* and *pūrṇimānta*, in reckoning the months of the year. These make it fairly difficult to evolve a consistent and satisfactory scheme of chronology capable of explaining all known facts. Though knotty problems of chronology are met with throughout the the course of the Eastern Cāḷukya history, they are more common and intractable in its earlier than later stages. The reign of Cāḷukya Bhīma I marks, from a chronological point of view, the beginning of a new epoch in the Eastern Cāḷukya history. He was the first king of the dynasty to commence the practice of mentioning the date of his coronation in the

Saka era in his records; and as his example was followed by most of his successors, their chronology is known much more definitely than that of his predecessors. Though, as in the case of the former, the order of the succession of the latter and the number of years for which each of them ruled are stated in the inscriptions, considerable uncertainty prevails about the exact chronological limits of their respective reigns.

Several attempts have been made from time to time to settle the problem of Eastern Cāḷukya chronology; but no satisfactory scheme explaining all the known facts has yet been evolved. The late Dr. Fleet, who was the first to take it up for consideration, came, after a careful investigation of the material available to him, to the conclusion that Pulakēśin II effected the conquest of Vēngī early in his reign about A.D. 610-11, and conferred the soveriegnty of the country on his younger brother, Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana some years later in A.D. 615, from which year the latter is said to have reckoned his regnal years.[1] This view cannot be accepted, as it is opposed to certain known facts. In the first place, Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana was still governing the country on the banks of the Bhīmarathī as Yuvarāja in the 8th regnal year (A.D. 617-18) of Pulakēśin II;[2] and secondly, fresh evidence, brought to light since Fleet formulated his scheme, runs counter to it and renders a reconsideration of the problem necessary. Two attempts have been made in recent years to revise the Eastern Cāḷukya chronology in the light of the data now made available. After a searching examination of all the available Cāḷukya records, Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma,

1. IA. xx. p. 5.

2. Ibid. xix. p. 309.

finds no justification for placing the Cāḷukya conquest of Vēngī earlier than A.D. 631. He takes his stand on the Koppāram Plates of Pulakēśin II, dated in his 21st regnal year (A.D. 631), where it is stated that Vallabha being present in person, the execution (of the grant) was formally bestowed on Prithvīduvarāja (i.e., Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana) who, having defeated the circle of enemies by his arm,....has secured the kingdom to the lineage of his son,"[1] and comes to the definite conclusion that the Cāḷukya conquest of Vēngī, and the anointment of Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana as the king of the country took place in that year or a little later.[2] While the Koppāram Plates undoubtedly refer to the presence of Pulakēśin II in the Coastal Telugu country in A.D. 631 and the subjugation of Karmarāṣṭra, which until then belonged to the Pallavas of Kāñcī, there is nothing to indicate that it was his first advent, and that he did not make any attempt to conquer it earlier. Moreover, the astronomical data furnished by some of the records of the dynasty are not in agreement with his scheme; they seem to point out to an earlier date for the establishment of the Eastern Cāḷukya rule. A similar attempt by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, though not so thorough and systematic as that of Mr. Somasekhara Sarma, deserves notice. He believes that though the Cāḷukya conquest of Vēngī took place as early as A.D. 611, Pulakēśin II did not bestow the soveriegnty of the country on Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana immediately, but a few years later in A.D. 624.[3] As the evidence of the Koppāram Plates is believed to militate against this date, he makes an elaborate attempt to interpret it in a manner suitable

1. EI. xviii. p. 260.
2. JOR. ix. pp. 17-31.
3. JAHRS. ix. part iv. p. 1f.

to his position. In the first place, he identifies, following the conclusions of the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao, Pridhivīduvarāja, the *ājñapti* of the record, with Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman, a subordinate of king Satyāśraya, mentioned in the Goa Plates,[1] and insists that the 21st regnal year in which Koppāram Plates were issued does not refer itself to the reign of Pulakēśin II, but to that of Pridhivīduvarāja i.e., Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman himself. Secondly, as the Goa Plates are dated in Indravarman's 20th regnal year corresponding to Śaka 532, the Koppāram plates of his 21st year must necessarily be assigned to the next year, Śaka 533 (A.D. 611).[2] This, however, could not have been the year in which Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana obtained the sovereignty over Vēṅgī and founded a new kingdom; for certain astronomical details furnished by Viṣṇuvardhana's inscriptions do not agree with such an early date, but point to A.D. 624 as the first year of his rule. "Consequently," says Mr. Krishna Rao, "Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, as the paramount soveriegn of Vēṅgī, began his reign in A.D. 624, roughly fourteen years after the commencement of the reign of his elder brother, Pulakēśin II, and six years after the date of his own Satāra Grant."[3]

It must be pointed out, however, that there is no evidence in support of the contention that Vēṅgī was conquered by Pulakēśin II as early as A.D. 611. The date suggested by Mr. Krishnarao for the Koppāram Plates cannot be accepted. The donor of the record is undoubtedly king Vallabha i.e., Pulakēśin II, and the 21st year in which it was issued refers to his reign and not to

1. Jr. Bom. Br. RAS. x. p. 365.
2. JAHRS. ix. Part iv. pp. 10-11.
3. Ibid. p. 16.

that of his *ājñapti*. The correct date of the record, as pointed out by Dr. Hultzsch, is A.D. 631.[1] Again, the identification of Pridhivīduvarāja with Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman is based on very insecure foundations. The name of the donor of the Goa Plates, as pointed out by Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma, is not Dhruvarāja but 'Indravarman son of Dhruvarāja, son of Satyāśraya.' Moreover, the term 'duvarāja' in Pridhivīduvarāja of the Koppāram Plates is the Prakritic form of Sanskrit '*yvarāja*,' and it has no connection with Dhruvarāja. Again, in the Koppāram Plates it is explicitly stated that Pridhivīduvarāja "secured a (hereditary) kingdom to continue in the lineage of his son." This has no meaning when applied to Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman, as there is no evidence to show that either he or his descendants ever ruled over Vēngī or, as to that matter, anywhere on the east coast; but it becomes fully significant when applied to Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana who established a hereditary kingdom in Vēngī on the east coast.[2]

Although the date suggested by Mr. Krishna Rao for the Koppāram Plates, and his identification of the *ājñapti* Pridhivīduvarāja with Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman are thus seen to be untenable, the date put forward by him for the foundation of the Eastern Cāḷukya monarchy deserves careful consideration. The first definite date in the Eastern Cāḷukya history is furnished by the Attili Grant of Cāḷukya Bhīma I, according to which his coronation was celebrated on 17th April, A.D. 892.[3] Twelve kings of the dynasty ruled in Vēngī for an aggregate

1. EI. xviii. p. 260.
2. JOR. ix. pp. 28-30.
3. JTA. vi. p. 245.

period of 274 years, according to the figures supplied by the inscriptions. This yields (892-274 =) A. D. 618 as the date of the establishment of the Eastern Cāḷukya power in Vēngī. If, however, it is considered reasonable to take 'the last year of one king' as 'the first year of the next king,' and hold with Mr. Somasekhara Sarma that "the regnal years of each king are to be counted just like current years, i.e., the first regnal year of a king should be counted, not from the expiry of the first year, but from the first day of his first year,"[1] then we get an aggregate period of 261 years for the twelve kings, and (892-261 =) A.D. 631 as the date of the foundation of the Eastern Cāḷukya kingdom. It must be pointed out, however, that neither of these dates explains in a satisfactory manner the chronological data furnished by the inscriptions, and cannot be accepted as a basis for formulating the Eastern Cāḷukyan chronology; but the actual date capable of explaining most, if not all the known facts, lies in all probability between the two limits mentioned above. The clue which may lead ultimately to the final solution of the problem lies perhaps in an epigraph at Tērāla in the Palnad taluk of the Guntur district, dated in the 5th regnal year of a Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana, corresponding to Sunday, Kārttika Śu. 5 of the cyclic year Bahudhānya.[2] The inscription does not offer us any help to identify the Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana in whose reign it is dated. However, as the characters of the record are said to be archaic, it may be confidently asserted that it cannot be assigned to a period later than the 11th century A.D. During this period of nearly four centuries, no less than

1. JOR. ix. p. 38.

2. 80 of 1929-30.

ten kings bearing the name of Viṣṇuvardhana ruled over Vēngī.

(1) Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana I.
(2) Viṣṇuvardhana II.
(3) Viṣṇuvardhana III.
(4) Viṣṇuvardhana IV.
(5) Viṣṇuvardhana V.
(6) Cāḷukya Bhīma I Viṣṇuvardhana VI.
(7) Ammarāja I Viṣṇuvardhana VII.
(8) Cāḷukya Bhīma II Viṣṇuvardhana VIII.
(9) Tāḷapa II Viṣṇuvardhana IX.
(10) Dānārṇava Viṣṇuvardhana X.

Of these ten Viṣṇuvardhanas, the first two had the titles Viṣamasiddhi and Makaradhvaja; the third and the fourth bore, in addition, the biruda, Sarvalōkāśraya. Of the fifth much is not known; and as he ruled only for a short period of one and a half years, his case does not demand any consideration in this context. Of the remaining five, only three i.e., the sixth, seventh and eighth, viz., Cāḷukya Bhīma I, Amma I and Cāḷukya Bhīma II were known by the title Sarvalōkāśraya. It is reasonable to suppose that the Tērāla epigraph must belong to the reign of one of the five kings, viz., Viṣṇuvardhana III, Viṣṇuvardhana IV, Cāḷukya Bhīma I, Amma II, and Cāḷukya Bhīma II who bore both the names Śarvalōkāśraya and Viṣṇuvardhana; but to discover the identity of the king mentioned in this inscription, it is necessary to find out at first the time, when each of the Viṣṇuvardhanas mentioned above ruled. Fortunately, the Śaka dates for the coronation of some of these are given in the inscriptions; and with the help of these dates and the

regnal periods assigned to the kings in question in the records of their successors, the chronological limits of their respective reigns can be fixed with tolerable certainty. According to the Attili Grant, as noticed already, the coronation of Cāḷukya Bhīma I was celebrated on Monday, ba. di. 2 Caitra, Śaka 814 corresponding to 17th April, 892 A.D.[1] As he ruled for a period of 30 years, it is certain that his reign lasted until A.D. 921-2. Amma I, who succeeded him after the lapse only of six months, must have ascended the throne in the same year; and as he is known to have ruled for seven years, his reign must have come to an end in A.D. 927-8. Similarly, Amma II Vijayāditya VI was crowned on Friday, ba. di. 13 Mārgaśira of Śaka 897, corresponding to 5th December, 945 A.D.[2] As Cāḷukya Bhīma II, who preceded him immediately, is said to have ruled for twelve years, he must have reigned from A.D. 934 to 945. The data for fixing the time of the remaining Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhanas are not so precise and do not consequently admit of any definite conclusions. However, it is not impossible to fix approximately their time by calculating backwards from A.D. 892, the date of Cāḷukya Bhīma I's coronation. Between Cāḷukya Bhīma I and Viṣṇuvardhana IV, there ruled three kings, Guṇaga Vijayāditya III, Viṣṇuvardhana V, and Narēndramṛigarāja Vijayāditya II, respectively for 44, 1½ and 40 years, or (43+1+39=) 83 years in the aggregate. It follows from this that the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana IV, the father and immediate predecessor of Vijayāditya II, came to an end in (892-83 =) A.D. 809; and as he is known to have ruled for 35 years, he must have ascended the

1. JTA. xi. p. 245.

2. IA. vii. p. 15 f.

throne in (809—34 =) A.D. 775. Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana III was the grandfather of Viṣṇuvardhana IV, and between the two there was only one king, Vijayāditya I, who ruled for a period of 18 years. This yields (775-17 =) A.D. 758 as the last date of Viṣṇuvardhana III; and as he is said to have ruled for 35 years, he must have begun his rule in (758—34 =) A.D 724.

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that the five Eastern Cāḷukya kings bearing the name of Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana ruled in the following order:—

(1) Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana III A.D. 724-758.

(2) do do IV A.D. 775-809.

(3) do do Cāḷukya Bhīma I A.D. 892-921-2.

(4) do do Amma I A.D. 921-2—927-8.

(5) do do Cāḷukya Bhīma II A.D. 934-945.

During the period of 221 years intervening between the accession of Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana III in A.D. 724, and the death of Sarvalōkaśraya Viṣṇuvardhana Cāḷukya Bhīma II in A.D. 945, the year Bahudhānya fell in A.D. 738-9, 798-9, 858-9 and 918-19. Of these, the Bahudhānya corresponding to A.D. 858-9 may be left out of consideration, as it falls within the reign of Guṇaga Vijayāditya III, and not of any Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana. The remaining three A.D. 738-39, 798-9, and 918-19 no doubt fall within the reigns respectively of Viṣṇuvardhana III, Viṣṇuvardhana IV, and Cāḷukya

Bhīma I; but none of these Bahudhānyas corresponds to the 5th regnal year of any of these kings. Therefore, none of them could have been the Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana mentioned in the Tērāla epigraph.

Two other kings who bear the name of Viṣṇuvardhana viz., Viṣṇuvardhanas I and II still remain to be considered. It is true that the title Sarvalōkāśraya is not associated with their names in the inscriptions However, as the titles ending with the suffix '*āśraya*' were in vogue among the Eastern Cāḷukyas at least from the time of Jayasimhavallabha I,[1] and as the *biruda* Sarvalōkāśraya makes its appearance as early as the time of Mangi Yuvarāja, it is not at all unlikely that these two early Viṣṇuvardhanas also bore the title Sarvalōkāśraya. Though the dates of these kings are not exactly known, it is certain that both of them ruled in the 7th century A.D. The Koppāram plates make it clear that Pulakēśin II conquered the Coastal Telugu Country, and appointed his younger brother Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana in A.D. 631 or a little earlier; and his grandson Viṣṇuvardhana II came to the throne 33 years after the death of his grandfather. The cyclic year Bahudhānya occurs twice in the 7th ceutury A.D., once in 618-19 A.D., and again in A.D. 678-79. The Government Epigraphist ascribes the Tērāla inscription to Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana and assigns it to A.D. 621-2.[2] Accepting for the sake of argument that Bahudhānya fell, as stated by the Government Epigraphist, in A.D. 621-22, Viṣṇuvardhana I's first regnal year must be placed in A.D. 616-17. This is contradicted by the evidence of the Satāra Grant

1. EI. xix. p. 259 "*Śakti-bala-vaśīkṛt=āśeṣa-- ripubalas-Sakalalōk = āśray=ācārah Sarva-siddhir=apica.*

2. ARE. 1929-30, Part i. p. 61.

according to which he was still ruling, as the Yuvarāja of his elder brother, on the banks of the Bhīmarathī in the Southern Mahratta country.[1] It is not, therefore, possible to agree that Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana was the king mentioned in the Tērāla inscription. If, on the other hand, the Bahudhānya mentioned in the record, is taken to be one which occurred in A.D. 678-79, then the Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana must have commenced to rule in A.D. 673-74. As Viṣṇuvardhana I must have begun to rule at least in A.D. 631 and ruled only for 18 years, the Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana, who came to the throne in A.D. 673-74 must, have been his grandson Viṣṇuvardhana II. This is supported by the evidence of his inscriptions. The Rēyūru Grant, dated on Wednesday, Caitra śu.di. 10 Māgha in the 2nd year, corresponds regularly to Wednesday 22, March, A.D. 674,[2] and the Solar eclipse on Phālguṇa ba. 15 of his 5th year mentioned in his Maṭṭevāḍa Plates occurred on 28th January A.D. 678.[3] Similarly, the lunar eclipse on Vaiśākha. śu. di. 15 in the second year of his successor Mangi Yuvarāja, who ascended the throne in A.D. 682, took place on 17th April A.D. 683.[4] Therefore, it may be concluded that Viṣṇuvardhana II ascended the throne in A.D. 673 and ruled for nine years until A.D. 681. The Tērāla record thus provides us with a definite basis for fixing the date of the foundation of the Eastern Cāḷukya kingdom of Vēngī. Though Viṣṇuvardhana I is credited with a rule of 18 years in the Eastern Cāḷukya records, his Chīpurupalle Plates are dated in the 18th year and 4th month of his reign. It is evident from this that he ruled for 17 full years, and that the 18th was current at the time of the issue of the plates. His son and successor is said to have ruled for 33 years, that

1. IA. xix. p. 309.
2. JOR ix. p. 33-34.
3. Ibid. p. 35.
4. JAHRS. IX. Part iv, p. 21.

is 32 years and a few more months in the next regnal year. Deducting 49 years (17 for Viṣṇuvardhana I and 32 for Jayasimha I) from A.D. 673, the date of accession of Viṣṇuvardhana II, we get A.D. 624 as the year in which the Eastern Cāḷukya dynasty was established in Vēngī.

This conclusion is borne out by the evidence of two early copper-plate records both of the reign of Jayasimha-vallabha I. The earlier of the two is the Adivāsaka Grant made on the 5th day in the 8th fortnight of Hēmanta, and issued in the 18th regnal year of the king. If it is not unreasonable to suppose that the gift was made in the same year in which it was issued, the grant must be assigned to A.D. 658.[1] As a period of 34 years had already elapsed since the foundation of the Eastern Cāḷukyan kingdom of Vēngī (Viṣṇuvardhana 17 and Jayasimhavallabha I. 17,, that event must be assigned to (A.D. 658—34) A.D. 624. The Koṇiki Grant dated on śu. di. 10, Āśvayuja, Candravāra, Śrāvaṇa in the 30th regnal year of Jayasimhavallabha, corresponding to Monday 30th Sept. A.D. 670 points in the same direction.[2] As Jaya-simhavallabha had ruled already for 29 full years at the time when he made the gift mentioned in the record, he must have commenced to rule in A.D. (670—29) 641; and deducting from this 17 years for which Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana I ruled A.D. (641—17) we get A.D. 624 as the year in which he established himself as the king of Vēngī.

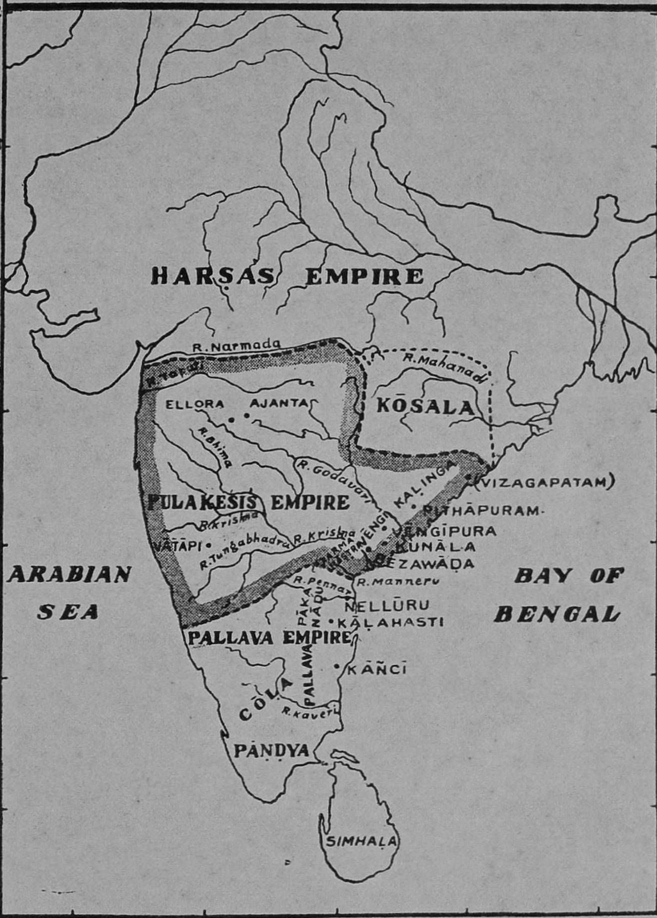
1. I am grateful to Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma for furnishing the astronomical details and calculating the date for me. A full discussion of the problem may be found in the forthcoming issues of the Epigraphia Indica in which he is publishing the record.

2. By the kind courtesy of the former Epigraphist to the Government of India, the late Rao Bahadur C. R. K. Charlu, B.A. My thanks are due to Mr. Somasekhara Sarma who kindly calculated the date of the record at my request.

It must not, however, be supposed that the problem of the Eastern Cāḷukya chronology has finally been solved. Though the evidence of the early records are generally in agreement with the date suggested here for the establishment of Eastern Cāḷukya kingdom, certain facts militate against it and create a suspicion in the mind that a satisfactory solution has not yet been attained. In the first place, the Koppāram Plates dated in the 21st year (A.D 631) of Pulakēśin II, still refer to Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana as Pridhivīduvarāja, though on the assumption that the Eastern Cāḷukya kingdom was founded in A.D. 624, he should have been ruling at the time as the soveriegn lord of Vēngī. Secondly, it is doubtful whether the Mattewāda Plates of Viṣṇuvardhana II were dated in accordance with the Pūrṇimanta and not the amānta system. If it is amānta and not pūrṇimānta, as Mr. Krishna Rao would have us believe, it militates against the initial date suggested by him. Lastly, the date of the Musinikoṇḍa Grant of Viṣṇuvardhana III[1] expressed by the chronogram *Svādita* (S. 684) does not fall, according to the present chronological scheme, within the limits of his reign.[2] It is not possible to offer a satisfactory explanation of these facts. However, as most of the known facts of the early Eastern Cāḷukya chronology are explained in a satisfactory manner by assuming A.D. 624 as the date of the foundation of Eastern Cāḷukya kingdom, it has been adopted here as a working hypothesis; and the dates of the early rulers of the dynasty are calculated on its basis.

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1. Cp. 9 of 1916-17.
2. The attempt of Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao to get over the difficulty by proposing an arbitrary emendation of 'Svādita' into 'Svāḍhita' is utterly unwarranted.



PULAKEŚI II'S EMPIRE 640 A.D.
HARṢAS EMPIRE
R. Narmada
R. Tapti
R. Mahanadi
KOSALA
ELLORA
AJANTA
R. Bhima
R. Godavari
PULAKESIS EMPIRE
KALINGA
(VIZAGAPATAM)
PITHĀPURAM
VENGI
VENGĪPURA
KUNĀLA
VEZAWĀḌA
R. Krishna
VĀTĀPI
R. Tungabhadra
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
R. Pennar
R. Manneru
NELLŪRU
KĀḶAHASTI
PĀKA NĀḌU
PALLAVA EMPIRE
PALLAVA
KĀÑCI
CŌLA
R. Kaveri
PĀṆḌYA
SIMHALA
68
72
76
80
84
88
32
28
24
20
16
12
8

CHAPTER VI

VIṢṆUVARDHANA I TO VIṢṆUVARDHANA III

Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana or Viṣṇuvardhana I began to rule in Vēngī, according to the chronology adopted in the present work, in A.D. 624, and reigned for a period of eighteen years in A.D. 641-2. During the first seven or eight years of his reign, he appears to have governed Vēngī as a subordinate of his elder brother, Pulakēsin II, and attained the status of a soveriegn ruler only in the later years of his rule. In the Koppāram Plates of Pulakēsin II, dated in his twenty-first regnal year, Viṣṇuvardhana is referred to only as Yuvarāja, and was entrusted with the task of executing the royal order granting the Brahman Vēda Sarman of Mūgamūr the village of Irbuli in the Karma-rāṣṭra. It is, however, interesting to note that Pulakēsin II recognized the right of his brother to bequeath to his descendants the conquered country as a hereditary dominion.[1] This was probably a prelude to the change in his fortune, which appears to have taken place soon after the conquest of Karma-rāṣṭra. Both in the undated Timmāpuram Plates, and the Chīpurupalle Plates dated in the 18th year of his re gn, Viṣṇuvardhana I styles himself as a Mahārāja, a rank equal to that of his brother and sovereignlord Pulakēśin II.[2] It is evident from this that during the interval

1. EI. xviii. p. 260.
2. Ibid. ix. p. 317; IA. xx. p. 17.

between the Koppāram and Timmāpuram Plates, Pulakēśin II elevated Viṣṇuvardhana from the rank of Yuvarāja and bestowed on him the recently conquered Coastal Āndhra country as the hereditary possession of his family.

The Cāḷukya conquest of the Coastal Āndhra was not effected, as stated in the Aihole inscription, in the course of a single campaign. The invaders met with stout resistance, and it was only after a strenuous warfare of ten years that they could reduce the country to subjection. Two stages in the progress of the conquest are distinctly perceptible; the conquest of Kaḷinga and Vēngī preceded that of Karma-rāṣṭra at least by a decade. As Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana appears to have reckoned his regnal years from A.D. 624, it is certain that the conquest of Vēngī and Kaḷinga took place either during that year itself or a little earlier. The theory advanced by a recent writer that the early Eastern Cāḷukya kings did not rule in Vēngī, as stated in the later records of the family, and "that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, though shorn of their past glory, were ruling for sometime at Vēngī contemporaneously with the Eastern Cāḷukyas, who ruled first probably from Piṣṭapura, next from Vēngī and then from Rājamahēndrī,"[1] deserves notice in this context. It must be pointed out, in the first place, that there is no evidence to support the contention that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins ruled contemporaneously with the early Eastern Cāḷukyas. The whole theory hangs ultimately on the evidence of paleography, and for short periods paleographic evidence cannot be accepted as a reliable guide. What little evidence there is on the subject, points definitely in a different direction. Tradition preserved in the Eastern Cāḷukya

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1. D. C. Sircar, The Successors of the Sātavahanas, p. 117.

records, at least from the time of Guṇaga Vijayāditya III, as noticed in an earlier context, mentions Durjayas and not Viṣṇukuṇḍins as the enemy from whom Viṣṇuvardhana I conquered Vēṅgī; and the Tāṇḍivāḍa Plates of Pṛthvīmahārāja of the Raṇa-Durjaya family assigned to about A.D. 730, bears testimony to the rule of the Durjayas in the Vēṅgī country, on the eve of Cāḷukya conquest. Though no inscriptions of Viṣṇuvardhana I are found in the region between the Kṛṣṇā and the Gōdāvarī, the Koppāram, Timmāpuram, and Cīpurupalle Plates show that his authority was recognized on the north and south of Vēṅgī. The records of his immediate successors leave no room for doubt that the whole coastal region extending from Vizagapatam as far as Mannēṟu in the south was under the sway of the Eastern Cāḷukyas, since the time of the foundation of their power in the Telugu country.[1]

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1. Viṣṇuvardhana I.

(1) Koppāram Plates, Irbuli in Karma-rāṣṭra, (EI. xviii, p. 360) — Guntur Dt.

(2) Timmāpuram Plates, Kumalūru in Palaki Viṣaya (EI. ix, p. 317) — Vizag. Dt.

(3) Chīpurupalle Plates, Kalavakoṇḍa in Dimili Viṣaya (IA. xx. 3, 15) — do

(4) ? Chezerla (Stone Ins.) in Narasaraopeta taluk (ARE. 154 of 1899) — Guntur Dt.

Jayasimha I.

(1) Stone Ins. at Vipparla (SII. vi, 584) — do

(2) Pulimbūru Grant of Jayasimha I, Pulombūru in Guddavāḍi Viṣayā (EI. xix. p. 254) — (West Godavari Dt.

(3) Pedda Maddāli Plates, Peṇukaparru in Gudrahāra Viṣaya. (IA. xiii, p. 137) — Kistna Dt.

Who the Durjaya king, from whom Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana took Vēngī, is not mentioned in the inscriptions. It was probably Pṛthvīmahārāja of the Tāṇḍivāḍa Plates or his immediate successor. The Ēḍēru Plates of Amma I refer to a certain Daddara with an irresistible

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(4) Pedda Vēgi Plates of Jayasimha I, Kombarru in Kanthēruvāṭi Viṣaya (EI. xix. p. 258 f, Cp. 11 of 1917-18). Guntur Dt.

(5) Niḍumarru Ins, Niḍubarru in Gaṇḍēruvāṭi Viṣaya (EI. xviii, p. 55), do

Viṣṇuvardhana II

(1) Pamiḍimukkala Plates, Panṭimukku in Varnāṇḍu Viṣaya. (Cp.14 and 15 of 1916-17) Kistna Dt.

(2) Reyūru Grant, Reyūru in Karma-Rāṣṭra. (IA. vii. 186 f) Guntur Dt.

(3) Maṭṭevāḍa Plates, Pallivāḍa in Gudrahāra Viṣaya (IA. vii. p. 192), Godavari Dt.

Mangi Yuvarāja.

(1) Chendalūr Plates, Ceṇḍarūra in Kamma-rāṣṭra (EI. viii. p. 236 f) Ongole, Guntur Dt.

(2) Madras Museum Plates, Nūtalaparru in Karma-rāṣṭra (IA. xx. p. 104). do

(3) Ēduvāḍalapāḷem Cp. Grant, Bōṇḍāḍavorti in Pāguṇavara, Viṣaya (JTA ii. p. 125) Bhimavaram, W. Godavari.

(4) Lakṣmipuram Ins. (Bhārati v. pp. 935 f) Divi, Kistna Dt.

These inscriptions are enough to show that the authority of the Eastern Cāḷukyas was recognized over the whole of the Coastal Telugu Country extending from Vizagapatam to the Mannēru including the Vēngi country.

army (*durdharṣa-balaṁ*), whom Kāḷakampa, the *niyōgādhikṛta* of Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, had slain in battle and appropriated his insignia by the command of his master.[1] As '*durdharṣa*' and '*durjaya*' are synonymous terms meaning "unconquerable, irresistible," it is not unlikely that Daddara was connected with the Durjayas from whom Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana wrested Vēngī. However that may be, the progress of the Cāḷukya conquest appears to have received a check on the bank of the Kṛṣṇā beyond which lay the mighty empire of the Pallavas of Kāñcī.[2] Mahēndravarman I, the ruling king of Kāñcī, was a powerful monarch, and he must have blocked the path of Pulakēśin II and frustrated his attempt to cross the river. The death of Mahēndravarman I in C. 630 A.D., and the accession of his youthful son Narasimhavarman I offered a suitable opportunity for the Cāḷukyas to launch an attack on the Pallava kingdom, and Pulakēśin II, accompanied by his brother Prīdhivīduvarāja Viṣṇuvardhana, promptly crossed the Kṛṣṇā, and reduced Karma-rāṣṭra, the northern most province of the Pallava kingdom, to subjection. The events of the war are not recorded. Viṣṇuvardhana, who is said to have been 'skilled in daring (deeds) in many battles', and was surnamed Viṣamasiddhi, because he had obtained success (*siddhi*) in impassable straits (*viṣama*) on land, on sea, &c. and 'achieved success against fortresses difficult of access, on the plains, in the water, in the woods, and on the hills',[3] must have distinguished himself here as elsewhere. The memory of one

1. SII. i. 36.
2. SII. vi. 595. This appears to be the only reason which satisfactorily accounts for the interval between the Cāḷukyan conquest of Vēngi and Karma-rāṣṭra.
3. EI. xviii, p. 260, IA. xx. p. 17, EI. ix. p. 319.

important event of this war is preserved in one of the latest Eastern Cāḷukya records, and describes the circumstances in which the ancestor of the later Velanāḍu chiefs established himself in the Karma-rāṣṭra. Buddhavarma of this family, who is said to have served Kubja-Viṣṇu, as Garuḍa served Viṣṇu and Hanuman the slayer of Rāvaṇa, very probably during the war of conquest. Pleased with his services, Kubja-Viṣṇu granted him the district of Giripratīcī, consisting of seventy-three villages, together with the insignia of royalty, and he ruled the district with the help of his bright sword.[1]

Viṣṇuvardhana ruled, according to the testimony of all the Eastern Cāḷukya inscriptions, for a period of eighteen years. Assuming that he commenced to rule in A.D. 624, his rule must have come to an end in A.D. 641-42. This is, indeed, interesting, as according to our computation, the termination of Viṣṇuvardhana's reign seems to have synchronised with the destruction of Vātāpi and the death of Pulakēśin II at the hands of Pallava Narasimha I. The coincidence was not perhaps accidental. In view of the friendly relations that seem to have existed between the two brothers, it is not improbable that Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana went to the help of Pulakēśin II, when he was pressed hard by the Pallava monarch, and perished with him in the siege of Vātāpi.

Viṣṇuvardhana I was a great soldier, and a capable general. He was specially skilful in conducting siege warfare. His title, Viṣama-siddhi,[2] is significant, denoting, as it does, his ability to handle difficult enemies. He was, no doubt, assisted by his great brother in subjugating Vēngī.

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1. S.II iv. 662, ARE 214 of 1892.

2. EI. ix. p, 317.

He however, seems to have borne the brunt of the fight. He had under him two capable lieutenants, the Paṭṭavardhani Brahman, Kāḷa-Kampa,[1] and Buddhavarman of the Caturthakula, the founder of the Giripaścima or Koṇḍapaḍamaṭi family,[2] who helped him to establish his authority in the Telugu country. Another chief called Aṭavī-Durjaya of the Mātsya family is mentioned as the *ājñapti* of his Chīpurupalle Plates.[3] He was probably the founder of the Mātsya dynasty of Oḍḍādi ; and it is not unlikely that he accompanied the Cāḷukya army from the west-coast, and helped Viṣṇuvardhana I in reducing the forest tracts of Kaḷinga (Kaḷing=āṭavi) to subjection.

Viṣṇuvardhana's religion.

In the Timmāpuram Plates, Viṣṇuvardhana is spoken of as a Paramabhāgavata or a devotee of Viṣṇu.[4] His name Kubja-Viṣṇu i.e., Vāmana, and the comparison with God Trivikrama lend colour to this. From this, however, it must not be supposed that he was entirely devoted to the worship of that God to the exclusion of others. As a scion of the Cāḷukya family he must have reserved some space in his devotions to his family dieties, Kauśikī (Durgā), and Kārttikēya, who are usually associated with the God Śiva. His queen, Ayyaṇa Mahādēvī, probably the mother of his sons, Jayasimha, Vallabha I and Indrabhaṭṭāraka, favoured the Jaina monks of Uṛūri-Gaṇa with a shrine called Naḍumbi-vasati at Bejavāḍa i.e. Bezwada.[5]

It is not known whether she was herself a member of Jainism, or built a temple for them, following the eclectic practice of Hindu kings and princes of showing equal

1. SII. i. 36.
2. SII. iv. 662.
3. IA. xix, p. 15.
4. EI. ix, p, 317.
5. Cp. 9 of 1916-17.

regard to all the religions and sects within their dominions. One thing, however, is quite certain; that the Vaiṣṇava faith of Kubja-Viṣṇu did not exclude the worship of some at least of the non-Vaiṣṇava deities; and very probably he treated all sects resident in his dominions alike.

JAYASIMHAVALLABHA I (A.D. 641-73).

On the death of Viṣṇuvarddana I, he was succeeded on the throne by his eldest son, Jayasimhavallabha I.[1] He bore the titles Sakalalōkāśraya and Vijaya-siddhi; and is said to have ruled, according to the majority of the Eastern Cāḷukya grants, for a period of thirty-three years.[2] Though his reign appears to have been long and prosperous, nothing is known about the events during his time. That it was not entirely peaceful is shown by the Pulimbūru Grant, which was issued from his Vijaya-Skandhāvāra or victorious headquarters of his army in some unknown place.[3] Who the enemy was and what the circumstances in which Jayasimhavallabha had to fight with him are utterly unknown. It may be noted, however, that the accession of Jayasimhavallabha, according to the chronology adopted here, coincided with the destruction of Vātāpi and the temporary subversion of the Western Cāḷukya monarchy; and Narasimhavarman I, in all likelihood, made an attempt to recover the territory wrested from him earlier by Pulakēśin II. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the fact that the Peda-Maddāli Plates of Jayasimha I were issued by him from a place called Udayapura, which has been identified by some

1. EI. ix. p 259.

2. IA. viii. p. 15. The British Museum Plates of Amma II assigns only a period of thirty years for his reign.

3. EI. xix. p. 254.

with Udayagiri in the Nellore district.[1] If this identification is admissable, then the presence of Jayasimha Vallabha so far south as Udayagiri in the Nellore district may be taken as an indication of his presence on the northern frontier of the Pallava kingdom. This is, however, pure speculation, and it is not possible to identify the enemy of Jayasimha, until some definite information on the subject comes to light.

The provenance of Jayasimhavallabha's inscriptions roughly indicate the extent of the territory under his rule. The Guddavāḍi Viṣaya mentioned in his Pulimbūru Grant corresponds to the Rāmacandrapuram taluk in the present East Godavari district; Gudrahāra Viṣaya of the Peda-Maddāli Plates to Nuzvid and Gudivada taluks of the Kistna district; and Kanthēru or Ganḍēṟuvāṭi Viṣaya, referred to in the Pedda-Vēgi and Niḍumaṟṟu Grants to the Guntur and Repalli taluks of the Guntur district.[1] The Vipparla epigraph, though it does not mention the name of the viṣaya in which it was situated, shows clearly that Jayasimhavallabha's authority was recognized even in ancient Palnāḍu, i.e., the Narasaraopet taluk of the same district.[2] The situation of the Cennūrupalli Viṣaya mentioned in his Mṟoppūru Grant is not definitely known; but if the village of Mṟoppūru is identical with Muppaṟṟu in the Ellore taluk of the West Godavari district, as it is not unlikely, then Cennūrupalli Viṣaya must have embraced the tract of territory in the neighbourhood of Ellore. It is evident from this that Jayasimhavallabha I's sway extended over the whole of the present Northern Circars; and if the identification of Udayapura with

1. M. S. Sarma. *Vēngī-Cāḷukyulu*, p. 14.
2. SII. iv. 584; 147 of 1899.

Udayagiri is admissable, then the southern frontier of his kingdom must have extended beyond the Mannēṟu into Pākanāḍu and included the northern parts of the present Nellore district.

Jayasimha I had no children; he seems to have recognized his younger brother, Indrabhaṭṭāraka as his heir and successor, and treated him and his family with special consideration. It was probably on account of his love and gratitude to his uncle, that Viṣṇuvardhana II, the son of Indrabhaṭṭāraka, omits in one of his records the name of his father and refers to himself as the son of Jayasimha I.[1] Mangi, the son of Viṣṇuvardhana II, held the important office of *yuvarāja* under his grand-uncle, and helped him in the administration.[2] It is not clear why Jayasimha chose Mangi as *yuvarāja*, though the latter's father and grandfather who must have participated in the administration had a better claim to the office. The term *yuvarāja* is probably used here, not in the sense usually attached to it in the works on the Arthaśāastra, meaning heir-apparent or crown-prince, but in a special sense denoting 'a deputy to the king,' a purely administrative office;[3] and no special significance need be attached to Mangi's appointment as *yuvarāja* by Jayasimha I.

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1. Cp. 14 of 1916-17.

2. Cp. 9 of 1919-20.

3. Instances where the office of the *yuvarāja* was conferred by the Cāḷukya kings on persons outside the royal family can be easily cited. A certain Ballāḷadēva is mentioned as the *yuvarāja* of Amma II Vijayāditya VI in his Masulipatam Plates (EI. v. p. 139). As Amma II is not known to have had any children, and as he had only one step-brother, Dānārṇava, this Ballāḷadēva must have been an

The relations of Jayasimha I with the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi are not known. For thirteen years after the destruction of Bādāmi by Narasimhavarman I, confusion and anarchy prevailed in the Western Cāḷukya dominions. Jayasimha I probably declared his independance during the interval and raised the status of Vēngī from a dependency to a fully autonomous state. His attitude towards Vikramāditya I, son of Pulakēśin II, who ascended his father's throne in A.D. 655, cannot be ascertained. Vikramāditya I, it may be noted, renewed the family feud with the Pallavas. His armies swept through the Pāka-rāṣṭra, which lay along the coast immediately to the south of the Karma-rāṣṭra, in Jayasimha's dominions. It is not known whether Jayasimha I joined his cousin and attacked the Pallavas or remained neutral. However that may be, Vikramāditya's activities in the Pāka-rāṣṭra must have checked the expansion of the Eastern Cāḷukyan dominions in the south and prevented the formation of genuine friendship between them.

INDRABHAṬṬĀRAKA (A.D. 673).

According to some of the Eastern Cāḷukya records, on the death of Jayasimhallabha I, his younger brother Indrabhaṭṭāraka succeeded him on the throne and ruled

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outsider. To cite a later example, Āhavamalla-Śōmēśvara I conferred the office of the *yuvarāja* on his Brahman general, Madhuvaparasa of Vārṇṇas-ānvaya (HAS. no. 8. p. 14). These instances show that, under the Cāḷukyas of Vēngi and Kalyāṇi, the office of the *yuvarāja* was not invariably held by the heir-apparent, and that on occasions, for reasons unknown at present, persons unconnected with the royal family were appointed to the office.

for seven days.[1] This is borne out by the evidence of the Koṇḍanāgūr Grant, which he issued during his seven days' rule to register the gift of Koṇḍanāgūr to a Brahman Caṇḍi Śarman. Indrabhaṭṭāraka bore two titles 'Tyāgadhēnu', i.e. the cow of liberality, and Biruda-Makaradhvaja i.e. the god of love in skill.[2]

In some of the inscriptions of his son, Viṣṇuvardhana II, he is said to have resembled Indra in valour;[3] but this was, perhaps, mere conventional praise, as nothing is known about his achievements either during his short reign or earlier. It was thought at one time that Indrabhaṭṭāraka perished in a battle with a confederacy of his enemy kings, headed by Adhirāja Indravarman of the Ganga dynasty of Kaḷinganagara;[4] but this view has been discarded in recent years, as the Indrabhaṭṭāraka killed by Adhirāja Indra and his confederates is found to be identical with an earlier Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family.[5]

VIṢṆUVARDHANA II (A.D. 673-681).

On the death of Indrabhaṭṭāraka his son, Viṣṇuvardhana II, succeeded him. He bore the titles of Sarva lōkāśraya, Viṣamasiddhi, Makaradhvaja and Praḷayāditya.[6] Though he ruled for a period of nine years, and is said to have won victory in several battles, no information is available about the events of his reign. Most of his

1. IA. xx. p. 97.
2. EI. xviii. p. 1.
3. Cp. 15 of 1916-17.
4. Fleet. Dyn. Kan. Dist., p. 334.
5. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil: Ancient History of the Deccan p. 91.
6. 80 of 1929-30, Cp. 14, 15 of 1916-17.

inscriptions record gifts of villages in the Karma-rāṣṭra and the Varnāṇḍu Viṣaya in the south of the Kṛṣṇā; and it is known how far his authority extended on the northern side of the river.

MANGI-YUVARĀJA (A.D. 681-705).

Mangi, who succeeded his father, ruled for twenty-five years. As he held the office of the *yuvarāja* for a pretty long time, since the time of Jayasimha I, the appellation 'Yuvarāja' seems to have clung to him even after he was crowned king He assumed the titles of Sakalalōkāśraya, Samastabhuvanāśraya and Vijaya-siddhi.[1] The provenance of his inscriptions shows that the whole coastal region from Vizagapatam in the north to Ongole in the south of the present Guntur district was under his sway. Though he ruled for a quarter of a century, his reign appears to have been utterly uneventful.

Mangi-Yuvarāja married more than one wife and had by them four children, three sons, Kokkili, Jayasimha II, and Viṣṇuvardhana III, who succeeded him on the throne one after another, and a daughter called Pṛthvī Pōṟi, who had been wrongly identified by the Government Epigraphist with Vijayamahādēvī, the queen of Viṣṇuvardhana III. This is due to the misreading of the name of Pṛthvī Pōṟi's father Mangiduvarāja as Mahimduvarāja and confounding him with the Pallava king Mahēndravarman III.[2] The mistake has since been rectified, and her relationship with Mangi-Yuvarāja and his sons clearly established.

1. EI. viii. p. 238 f.
2. ARE. 1920, Part II. para, 12; EI. xviii. p. 58 f.

SONS OF MANGI-YUVARĀJA (A.D. 705-717).

Jayasimha II, who bore the titles of Sakalalōkāśraya, Sarvasiddhi, and Niravadya, succeed his father and governed the kingdom for thirteen years. Only one record of his reign, a copper plate gift-deed, registering the grant of some land in the village of Peṇukapaṟṟu in the Karma-rāṣṭrā has come to light, and it gives no historical information of any value.[1] It is interesting to note that Jayasimha's Western Cāḷukya contemporary Vijayāditya Satyāśraya (A.D. 696—733-4) had the title 'Niravadya'.[2] Whether this was a mere coincidence or due to some sort of an alliance between the two monarchs cannot now be ascertained.

On the death of Jayasimha II, Kokkili, the younger of his two junior step-brothers, siezed the kingdom and ruled it for six months. In the only record of his reign that has come down to us, his full name is given as Kokkuli Vikramāditya Bhaṭṭāraka and he is said to have borne the title Vijayasiddhi.[3] His reign though short is not unimportant, as it witnessed the earliest manifestation of family strife, which became a characteristic feature of the

1. Cp. 4 of 1923-24 ; Bhārati i. no. 10. p. 139 ; EI. xviii. p. 313 f.

2. This is indicated by the names of some of his officers and dependants. His Nerūr Plates ii (IA. ix. p. 130) were written by Mahāsāndhivigrahika Niravadya-Puṇyavallabha. Udayadēva Paṇḍita, an *antēvāsin* of Vijayāditya's father's preceptor Pūjyapāda, and the recipient of the gift of the village of Kardama from Vijayāditya in A.D. 729-30 was also known as 'Niravadya-Paṇḍita'. The practice of the subordinates and the dependants of a monarch of adding the name or a biruda of their sovereign to their own as a mark of loyalty and subordination is well-known.

3. Cp. 13 of 1908-09.

later Eastern Cāḷukya history. Though Kokkili managed, after the death of Jayasimha, to take possession of the throne, he was not long allowed to taste the pleasures of royalty. Viṣṇuvardhana III, his elder brother, rose up against him, and having expelled him from the kingdom crowned himself king.

Viṣṇuvardhana's success over Kokkuli was not, however, complete; for, after his dethronement, the latter retired into the hilly tracts of Madhyama-Kaḷinga, where he securely established himself, and founded a dynasty which ruled over this region for four generations. Kokkili and his descendants Mangi-Yuvarāja II, Vinayāditya Varman, and Sarvalōkāśraya Sri Kokkili Varma Mahārāja, all ruled over Madhyama-Kaḷinga with probably Elamancili in the present Vizagapatam district as their capital. Whether these princes ruled Madhyama-Kaḷinga independently of the main branch, or in subordination to it, cannot now be determined. It may, however, be pointed out that there is no evidence to show that Viṣṇuvardhana III and his successors up to the time of Vijayāditya III, ever ruled over Kaḷinga; and very probably they found it wise to leave alone their Elamancili cousins and not to interfere in the affairs of their government.

1. See Appendix on the next page,

APPENDIX

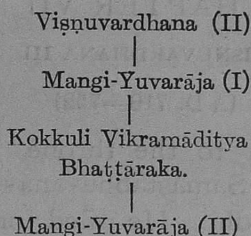
Cps. 10, 11, 12, 13 of 1908-09. Dr. D. C. Ganguly is of opinion that Mangivarman Mahārāja mentioned in 12 and 13 is identical with Mangi-Yuvarāja, the son of Viṣṇuvardhana II, and consequently his son Vinayāditya Varman Mahārāja, an younger brother of Kokkuli or Kokkuli Vikramāditya Bhaṭṭāraka (IHQ. viii. p. 777). It is more reasonable to suppose that Vinayāditya Varman was the son of Mangi Varman Mahārāja and a grandson of Kokkuli Vikramāditya Bhaṭṭāraka. Of the four Munjēru Coppēr-plate Grants, 13 of 1908-09 is the earliest, and it refers to the following line of kings,—

Viṣṇuvardhana
|
Mangi-Yuvarāja
|
(Donor) Kokkuli Vikramāditya Bhaṭṭāraka

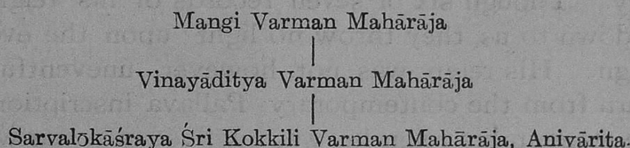
Next comes 12 of 1908-09; it adds another generation to the list of kings mentioned above—

Mangi-Yuvarāja of the Cāḷukya family
|
Kokkuli Vikramāditya Bhaṭṭāraka
|
Mangi-Yuvarāja (II)

It is obvious that the last two names in 13 of 1908-09 and the first two names in 12 of 1908-09 are identical. Combining the two we get the following genealogy—



The pedigrees in CP. Grants 10 and 11 of 1908-09, which are identical, come next—



As Mangi-Yuvarāja I is never referred to in the Eastern Cāḷukya inscriptions as Mangi Varman and Mahāraja, Mangi Varman Mahārāja, the fatherof Vinayāditya Varman Mahārāja, mentioned in these records must be different from Mangi-Yuvarāja I, and not identical with him, as Dr. Ganguly would have us believe. Therefore, the pedigree of this branch of the Cāḷukya family may be arranged thus—

(1) Viṣṇuvardhana II

(2) Mangi-Yuvarāja

(3) Kokkuli Vikramāditya Bhaṭṭāraka

(4) Mangi Varman Mahārāja

(5) Vinayāditya Varman Mahārāja

(6) Sarvalōkāśraya Śri Kokkili Varman Mahārāja, Śrī Aṇivārita

CHAPTER VII

VIṢṆUVARDHANA III

(A.D. 718—752)

On his accession to the throne, Viṣṇuvardhana III assumed the titles of Samastabhuvanāśraya, Tribhuvanāṅkuśa, and Viṣamasiddhi. He ruled for a period of thirty-five years, and judging from the provenance of his inscriptions, his authority was obviously recognized all over the Eastern Cāḷukya dominions excepting the Madhya-Kaḷinga country. Though six or seven records of his reign have come down to us, they throw no light upon the events of his reign. His reign was not, however, uneventful; for, we learn from the contemporary Pallava inscriptions that at one stage in his reign he was involved in a war with the Pallava monarch, Nandivarman II, Pallavamalla and lost a part of his territory in the south. The circumstances of the war are thus described in the Udayēndiram Plates of Nandivarman II, dated in his 26th regnal year, in which the exploits of his general, Udayacandra, in his service are recounted. "In the north, he (Udayacandra) pursued and defeated that Niṣāda chief, who was running after the Aśvamēdha horse; made Viṣṇurāja's country Pallava territory (i.e. conquered Viṣṇurāja's country and annexed it to the Pallava kingdom); and having brought Niravadya and others under his control, took (from them) beautiful necklaces, large quantities of gold and elephants."[1] This passage refers

[1] SII. ii. p. 368.

" *Uttarasyām = api diśi Prathivi-Vyāghr = ābhidhānan=Niṣāda-patim prabalāyamānam=Aśvamēdha-turangam=ānusaraṇam-ipatam = anusratya vijitya Viṣṇurāja-Viṣayāt = Pallavam sātkṛty=ādisan=Niravadya-pramukh = āmśuhārān parimita-suvarṇṇa-sandhēyam kuñjarān=api yō jagrāha.*" The passage has been corrected by Dr. V. Raghavan thus—

distinctly to a Pallava invasion of the Eastern Cāḷukya kingdom and the annexation of the southern districts by Nandivarman II Pallavamalla. The Niṣāda chief, Pṛthvī-vyāghra mentioned in it was, no doubt, the head of the Bōyas living in the Udayagiri region of the Nellore district, which was probably included in the Eastern Cāḷukya dominions at this time. Nandivarman II Pallavamalla came to the throne of Kāñcī about A.D. 730, at a time, when the fortunes of the Pallava family were at a low ebb. The reign of his predecessor, Paramēśvara Varman II, ended in a great disaster; it appeared as if the disollution of the Pallava kingdom was near at hand. The country was rent by civil war; and foreign enemies, specially the Eastern Cāḷukya Viṣṇuvardhana III, and his cousin, the Western Cāḷukya Vijayāditya, seized the outlying districts of the Pallava kingdom adjoining their respective frontiers. On his accession to the throne of Kāñcī, Nandivarman II seems to have made a determined effort to suppress the rebellions and recover the territory that had fallen into the hands of his enemies. In Udayacandra he found a loyal servant and a capable general. With his help, Nandivarman was able to put down Citramāya and other recalcitrant kinsmen and nobles and establish himself securely in the kingdom. Next, he concerted measures for recovering the territory from his neighbours. He seems to have resolved to perform the Aśvamēdha sacrifice so that he might assert his supremacy, and conquer his enemies at the same time. Udayacandra, who was commissioned to

"*Uttarasyām=api diśi Pṛthvī-Vyāghr=ābhidhānam Niṣāda-patim prapalāya-mānam=Aśvamēdhaturamgam=ānusaraṇam=api tam=anusṛtya vijityvā Viṣṇurāja-Viṣayān Pallava Sātkṛtya ādiśan Niravadya-Pramukhān suhārān=aparimita-suvarṇa-saṁcayaṁ kuñjarān=api yō jagrāha.*"

protect the Aśvamēdha horse duiing its peregrinations, proceeded northwards. When the horse reached the Bōya country in the north, Pṛthvī Vyāghra, the Bōya chief, who was probably a feudatory of Viṣṇuvardhana III, opposed his advance at Nellore and attempted to capture the horse. An engagement took place between the two parties, in which Udayacandra succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat on the Bōya chief and put him to flight. He next took possession of Nellore and the land extending probably up to the frontier of Karma-rāṣṭra, and proceeded against another chief called Niravadya from whom he exacted pearl necklaces, gold and elephants. Udayacandra's victory over Niravadya has not been noticed so far by any one, nor any attempt made to establish his identity. Niravadya is not a proper name, but a title borne, as pointed out earlier, by two contemporary princes of the Cāḷukya family, Jayasimha II of Vēngī and Vijayāditya of Bādāmi. As the former was dead some years before the accession of Nandivarman II, the Niravadya whom his general defeated must have been none other than Vijayāditya himself. There is nothing improbable in this. The Western Cāḷukya kingdom included at this time almost the whole of the present Ceded Districts. It is not unlikely that Vijayāditya came to defend his territories or joined his cousin Viṣṇuvardhana III against their common enemy. However that may be, there is no doubt that the Eastern Cāḷukyas lost their hold over the Bōya country, which they could not recover until the time of Guṇaga Vijayāditya III.

CHAPTER VIII

VIJAYĀDITYA I TO VIṢṆUVARDHANA V

VIJAYĀDITYA I (A.D. 753—770)

On the death of Viṣṇuvardhana III, Vijayāditya I, his son by his chief queen Vijayamahādēvī, ascended the throne.[1] Judging from the titles Samastabhuvanāśraya, Tribhuvanāṅkuśa, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, and Bhaṭṭāraka, Vijayāditya I appears to have been a powerful king; but very little is known about his achievements; and his inscriptions as well as those of his successors give no information of any historical importance One important event which happened during the period of his rule, though unconnected with the affairs of Vēngī, must be noticed here, as it exercised a profound influence in subsequent years on the fortunes of the Eastern Cāḷukya royal family. A few years after Vijayāditya's accession to the throne of Vēngī,

1. Dr. D. C. Ganguly is of opinion that Viṣṇuvardhana III abdicated during the last years of his reign and retired into private life. (IHQ. ix. p. 492). This view is put forward simply to get over an inconvenient obstacle in the Eastern Cāḷukya chronology. The Musinikoṇḍa Grant of Viṣṇuvardhana III is dated in Śaka 684, expressed by the chronogram '*Svādita*', which does not fit in with any chronological scheme except that of Mr. M. S. Sarma; Dr. Ganguly, who adheres to Dr. Fleet's antiquated chronology, has formulated this theory to account for the descrepancy. It must be pointed out, however, that the Eastern Cāḷukya Chronology is by no means established finally; and until that is settled beyond all doubt, the theory of Viṣṇuvardhana's abdication cannot be taken seriously.

a dynastic revolution broke out in the neighbouring kingdom of Karṇāṭaka, which resulted in the overthrow of the Cāḷukya dynasty of Bādāmi. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who had been the feudatories of the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi ever since the foundation of the kingdom about the middle of the 6th century A.D., rose up, under the leadership of Dantidurga, against Kīrtivarman II, overthrew his authority, siezed his throne, and made themselves masters of Karṇāṭaka. The disappearance of the friendly house of Bādāmi, and the emergence n its place of the new Raṣṭrakūṭa power upset the political equillibrium of Southern Deccan. Vēngī, which enjoyed comparative peace, since the time of its conquest under Pulakēśin II, was drawn into the vortex of an inter-dynastic struggle and became the arena of warfare between the Cāḷukyas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas during the succeeding two centuries.

Vijayāditya I appears to have ruled in peace until almost the end of his reign. Although Dantidurga is said to have conquered the neighbouring kingdoms of Kāñcī, Kōsala, Kaḷinga and Śrīśaila, Vēngī does not find a place among the states conquered by him.[1] It is reasonable to infer from this that Dantidurga, for some reason unknown at present, considered it advisable to leave Vijayāditya alone; but towards the end of his reign, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas became more aggressive and invaded Vēngī from the west. Kṛṣṇa I, the paternal uncle and successor of Dantidurga, sent a large army against Vēngī under the command of his son, Yuvarāja Gōvinda II; and the expedition was completely successful. It is stated in the Alas Plates dated A.D. 769 that the king of Vēngī,

1. Arch. Sur. West. Ind. v. p. 17. The Daśāvatāra Inscription of Elūra, Verse 23.

i.e., Vijayāditya I, unable to resist the invading Rāṣṭrakūṭa forces saved himself 'by the cession of his treasury, (his) forces, and his country.'[1]

The cause of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion was perhaps not mere territorial ambition, but the desire of Kṛṣṇa I to chastise Vijayāditya for interfering in the affairs of Karṇāṭaka. Dantidurga died without issue soon after his victory over Kīrtivarman II; and though his junior paternal uncle, Kṛṣṇa I, proclaimed himself king, he could not take possession of his nephew's recent conquests without difficulty. Between A.D. 758, when he appears to have assumed supreme sovereignty, and A.D 768, the date of his Talegaon Plates, nothing is known about his activities;[2] and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power seems to have suffered a sudden eclipse. Taking advantage of the death of Dantidurga, the Cāḷukyas appeared to have made a determined effort to overthrow the authority of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and

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1. EI. vi. pp. 202-12.

Dr. Altekar is of opinion that the Eastern Cāḷukya king at the time of this invasion was not, as is supposed here, Vijayāditya I, but his son and successor, Viṣṇuvardhana IV. (Rashtrakutas. p. 45). This cannot be accepted. It may be noted here that Cāḷukya Bhīma I ascended the throne in A D. 892; and that there ruled between him and Vijayāditya I the following kings, Guṇaga Vijayāditya III for 44 years, Viṣṇuvardha V for 1½ years, Vijayāditya II for 40 years, and Viṣṇuvardhana IV for 35 years In other words, there intervened a period of 121 years between the accession of Cāḷukya Bhīma I and the death of Vijayāditya I. This yields (892-121=) 770-71 A.D. as the last date of Vijayāditya I. As the Rāṣṭrakūṭa conquest of Vēngi is referred to in the Alas Plates of Govinda II, dated A.D. 769, it must have taken place only during the reign of Vijayāditya I and not that of his son.

2. JBISM. viii. p. 165, EI. xiii. pp. 275-82.

recover their lost sovereignty. They seem to have been successful for a time, under their leader, Rāhappa; and it was only after a strenuous struggle lasting over a period of eight years that Kṛṣṇa I managed to put them down and reassert his authority. This is hinted at in his Bhāṇḍak Plates dated A.D. 772. *Praḷaya-mahāvarāha* i.e., Kṛṣṇa I is said to have "rescued the frightened earth which was sinking in the Kali ocean, which had overpassed (its) boundary."[1] Though the name of the enemy who threatened the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power with destruction is not specified here, in the Pimpari Plates of Dhruva dated A.D. 775, it is stated that Kṛṣṇa "having conquered in battle Rāhappa, haughty with the prowess of his arm, by the strokes of his sharp sword, acquired for himself the sovereignty over king of kings, auspicious with the rows of Pālidhvajas."[2] Pālidhvaja was the imperial standard of the Western Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi;[3] and since Kṛṣṇa wrested Pālidhvaja, and the supreme sovereignty from Rāhappa, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the latter was a scion of the Cāḷukya royal family of Bādāmi, and that after Dantidurga's death he made a serious

1. EI. xiv. p. 129.
2. Ibid. x. p. 86.
3. The Pālidhvaja was originally acquired by the Bādāmi Cāḷukyas during the reign of Vikramāditya I. While he was engaged in the conquest of the Southern quarter, his son Vinayāditya, accompanied by his grandson Vijayāditya, led an expedition to the north, where the latter defeated the enemies and acquired from them the tokens of the (rivers) Gangā and Yamunā, and the Pālidhvaja, and the insignia of the *dhakka*-drum and the (*panca*-) *manāśabdas*. (I.A. ix. p. 129). Thenceforward they became the insignia of the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi.

attempt to recover his patrimony. Scholars are at, variance about the identity of Rāhappa. Some are of opinion that Rāhappa was a prince of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, who seized the throne after Dantidurga and disputed Kṛṣṇa I's right to succeed him. In support of this contention, a verse from the Baroda Plates of Karaka of Gujarāt, according to which Kṛṣṇa I "uprooted a relative who had resorted to evil ways," and "appropriated the kingdom to himself for the benefit of the family,"[1] is usually cited; and on the strength of it, Rāhappa has been further identified with Karka II of the Antrōli Chārōli Grant.[2] Others do not accept this view. They point out that 'the kinsman' referred to was not 'one connected with Dantidurga or Kṛṣṇarāja,' but with Vallabharāja or the Western Cāḷukya, and that though he was identical with Rāhappa, he could not have been a member of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family.[3] There is, however, nothing in the Baroda Plates to suggest that the kinsman, whom Kṛṣṇa I killed, was not a Rāṣṭrakūṭa but a prince of some other family. The objection lacks force; and the position of the propounders of the view remains unshaken. Another set of scholars, however, while admitting that the kinsman slain by Kṛṣṇa I was undoubtedly a Rāṣṭrakūṭa, question the soundness of the identification of Rāhappa with him. They argue that, as Rāhappa has nowhere been described as a relative of Kṛṣṇa I, he must have been different from the kinsman whom the latter had ousted; and that, as his name 'bears a Canarese appearance,'

1. IA. xii. p. 162.
2. Fleet: EI. vi. p. 170.
3. K. V. S Aiyar: *Three Lectures* (Kannaḍa Research Lectures Series No. 2), p. 66f.

and as Kṛṣṇa I 'is said to have obtained the imperial position after defeating him, it is not impossible that he was identical either with the Western Cāḷukya Kīrtivarman II or his kinsman, the ruler of Vēngī, whom Gōvinda II defeated'.[1] Though it may be readily conceded that Rāhappa was a Cāḷukya, there is no reason to suppose that he was either Kīrtivarman II or the king of Vēngī vanquished by Gōvinda II. In the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible to establish his identity. He was in all likelihood an otherwise unknown member of the Western Cāḷukya family, who attempted to revive the fortunes of his house after the death of Kīrtivarman II. Nevertheless, it is not improbable that Vijayāditya I incurred the displeasure of Kṛṣṇa I, either by lending support to Rāhappa or what is more likely, effecting the conquest of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa territory, taking advantage of the confusion prevailing in it.

The assumption of the imperial titles, Mahārājadhirāja, Paramēśvara and Bhaṭṭāraka by Vijayāditya I, points to some notable achievements, which enhanced his status and power and enabled him to proclaim himself the paramount severeign of the country. However that may be, Kṛṣṇa I turned his attention to the affairs of Vēngī, as soon as he managed to overthrow Rāhappa and establish himself firmly upon the throne. He sent under his son, the Yuvarāja Gōvinda, a large army against Vēngī and reduced it to subjection. The steps taken by Vijayāditya I to defend his kingdom are not known. The Eastern Cāḷukya records have no information on the subject; but the Alas Plates of Gōvinda II makes it clear that Vijayāditya was

1. Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 43.

defeated, and was obliged to make peace with the enemy by surrendering his treasury, army and kingdom.[1]

VIṢṆUVARDHANA IV (771-806)

Vijayāditya I was succeeded by his son, Viṣṇuvardhana IV. Very few records of his reign have come down to us. The Permañjili and the Karumūru Grants, which probably belong to him, offer no historical information.[2] And his long reign would have remained a blank in the Eastern Cāḷukya history, but for valuable references in the contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions. He was involved in a protracted war with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and played an important part in international politics of his own day. At the time of his accession, Viṣṇuvardhana must have been a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, as a consequence of the defeat which his father had suffered at their hands during the last years of his reign. Soon after his coronation, however, an opportunity offered itself to regain his independence. Kṛṣṇa I died in A.D. 772, and he was succeeded by his eldest son, Yuvarāja Gōvinda II, on the throne. This, however, proved to be the sign for the outbreak of a civil war in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominions, as Gōvinda's younger brother, Dhruva Nirupama Dhārāvarṣa, disputed the right of his brother to sit upon the throne, and set up the standard of rebellion. As Dhruva won over to his side many of the nobles of the kingdom, Gōvinda II realised that he was not in a position to oppose him unaided, and turned, in his difficulty, to Viṣṇuvardhana IV and the other neighbouring monarchs from

1. EI. vi. p. 210.

2. See Appendix.

whom he had formerly exacted tribute and solicited their help. Viṣṇuvardhana, like all the other rulers subdued by the Raṣṭrakūṭas, must have hailed the outbreak of a civil war in their kingdom with delight; for, that was bound to cripple their power, and afford him an opportunity to shake off their yoke. He could not, however, remain neutral and allow the sons of Kṛṣṇa I to fight out the issue; for, it was not desirable that a strong prince like Dhruva should oust his easy-going brother and make himself the supreme lord of the entire Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominions; he would become a permanent menace to the security of the neighbouring states. Gōvinda, on the other hand, was not expected to follow rigorously the aggressive policy of his predecessors. Viṣṇuvardhana resolved, therefore, to respond to the call of Gōvinda II, and help him to overthrow Dhruva and maintain his authority. Several other princes joined Gōvinda for similar reasons; and very soon a powerful confederacy consisting of the kings of Mālava, Kāñcī, Gangavāḍi, and Vēngī came into existence under the leadership of Gōvinda II and opposed Dhruva on the battle-field.[1] Though the confederates were successful at first, victory ultimately favoured Dhruva, and he established himself firmly on the Rāṣṭrakūṭa throne about A.D. 780.

The defeat of Gōvinda II, and the enthronement of his rival in his place brought disaster on his allies, especially Viṣṇuvardhana IV who seems to have rendered him valuable help. He incurred the displeasure of Dhruva; and it was but natural that the latter should make an attempt to punish him. Therefore, as soon as he settled the affairs of his kingdom to his satisfaction,

1. EI. iii. p. 107.

Dhruva organized an expedition against Vēngī, and sent an army under the Lēmulavāḍa Cāḷukya chief, Arikēsarin I. The conquest of Vēngī and Trikaḷinga by Arikēsarin I is referred to both in the Parbhaṇi Plates and the introductory section of Pampa's *Vikramārjuna Vijayam*. Though the former makes it appear that Arikēsarin effected the conquest of these countries on his own account, Pampa leaves no room for doubt that he had undertaken it on behalf of his master, Nirupama Dhruva.[1] The Eastern Cāḷukya inscriptions, however, ignore the invasion, and offer no help in checking the Rāṣṭrakūṭa accounts. Though nothing is known of the steps taken by Viṣṇuvardhana to oppose the invasion, it is certain that he suffered defeat and had to sue for peace. A treaty was concluded, according to the terms of which he probably had to agree to acknowledge the supremacy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch and pay him tribute. It was further cemented by a marriage alliance. Viṣṇuvardhana IV gave his daughter Śīlamahādēvī in marriage to Dhruva, who was pleased to make her his chief queen.[2] The royal houses Vēngī and Mālkhēḍ were thus united for the first time in their history, as a consequence of which there was undisturbed peace between the two kingdoms until the death of Viṣṇuvardhana IV in A.D. 806.

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1. *Sa-Kaḷinga-trayaṁ-Vēngīm yō vatisma parākramāt*
Putrō jaya-śriyaḥ pātram tasy=āsīd=Arikēsarī"
—Jain Sāhitya aur Itihas. p. 90.

Nirupama-dēvana rājyadoḷ
Arikēsari Vēngi-Viṣayamaṁ Tri-Kaḷingaṁ
beras=ottikoṇḍu garvade
bareyisidam pesaran=akhila dig=bhittigaḷoḷ."
—Pampa, *Vikramārjuna Vijayam*,—1 : 20.

2. EI. xxii. No. 17. pp. 98-107.

VIJAYĀDITYA II NARĒNDRAMṚGARĀJA (A.D. 806-846)

Viṣṇuvardhana IV left two sons, Vijayāditya II and Bhīma Saḷuke, besides his daughter Śīlamahādēvī, who, as stated already, became the chief queen of the Rāṣṭrakuṭa king, Nirupama-Dhruva. On Viṣṇuvardhana IV's death, Vijayāditya II, as the eldest son of his father and lawful heir to the throne, proclaimed himself king; but his succession was not uncontested. His younger brother, Bhīma Saḷuke, who coveted the throne, did not admit his claim to the throne, and having with the help of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch taken forcible possession of the kingdom precipitated a civil war which lasted for a period of twelve years. The main events of this war are briefly described in the inscriptions of his successors. In the Sātalūru Grant of his grandson, Guṇaga Vijayāditya III, it is stated that he scattered the forces of the Gangas, built one hundred and eight temples dedicated to Śiva called after him Narēndrēśvara, and having defeated, in a war waged for twelve years, his own younger brother, Bhīma Saḷuke, together with the commanders of Vallabhēndra (i.e., the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king), he wrested from him the country of Vēngī and ruled over it.[1] According to the Pōnangi Plates of the same king, Vijayāditya II fought with his enemies one hundred and eight battles, and set up one hundred and eight shrines of Śiva called Narēndrēśvara in all those battle-fields and as many agraharas, water-sheds, gardens, tanks and pleasances all over Vēngī to expiate the sin of slaying men.[2] The Attili Grant of his great grandson, Cāḷukya Bhīma I, however, omits the reference to the commanders of Vallabhēndra

1. Bhārati I. i. p. 103.
2. Cp. 3 of 1908-9.

in this connection but mentions in their place the forces of the Southern Gangas who fought on the side of Bhīma Saḷuke.[1] It is obvious that the struggle was bitterly contested and that Vijayāditya had to fight for every inch of the ground he recovered from the enemy.

The prolongation of the war and the severity of the struggle were mainly due to the interference of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch, who espoused the cause of Bhīma Saḷuke and helped him to oppose his brother and keep a firm hold upon the kingdom. Dhruva died in A.D. 794; and he was succeeded by his son Gōvinda III; but Raṇāvalōka Kambha, whom he had superseded, rose in rebellion against him, and having entered into an alliance with several neighbouring kings defied his authority. Though Viṣṇuvardhana IV did not join Kambha and his allies, it is not unlikely that he withheld, taking advantage of the troubles that beset Gōvinda III on his accession, the payment of tribute and declared his independence. Gōvinda, who was seriously offended, bided his time and turned his attention to the affairs of Vēngī as soon as he put down the revolt of Kambha and chastised his allies for having dared to help him in his rebellion. The death of Viṣṇuvardhana IV and the outbreak of a war between his sons for the throne gave him a favourable opportunity to intervene in the affairs of Vēngī and establish his supremacy over the country. Therefore, when Bhīma Saḷuke, who was unable to cope with his stronger elder brother, appealed to him for help he promptly complied with his request and sending his forces to Vēngī assisted him in seizing the throne and establishing his authority in the kingdom.

1. JTA. xi. p. 253.

The power of Bhīma Saḷuke, however, did not rest upon secure foundations. Vijayāditya II proved too strong for him Though Bhīma succeeded in the early stages of the war to defeat him with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa help and seize the throne, he could not oust him from the country. Vijayāditya never admitted defeat. Though outmatched by his brother and his Rāṣṭrakūṭa allies in military strength and resources, he never lost heart and despaired of success. With undaunted courage, he faced his enemies and fought with them one hundred and eight battles for twelve years, nine battles on an average for every year. Although the Eastern Cāḷukya records claim for him victory in every one of these battles, he did not gain any decided advantage over his brother for a long time. Bhīma was not strong by himself; his strength lay in his alliance with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Conscious of his own weakness, he sedulously cultivated the friendship of Gōvinda III, and by acts calculated to flatter his vanity won his favour and support.[1] Gōvinda III appears to have utilised the military resources of his empire unreservedly in maintaining the authority of his ally. He not only despatched the imperial forces, but also ordered the Western Ganga army, probably under his brother Kambha, for service in Vēngī. Bhīma's good f ortune, however, did not last long. Gōvinda III died in A.D. 814; and was

1. The king of Vēngī, according to the Rādhanpūr Plates (EI. vi. p. 250), hastened in obedience to a command issued by Govinda III to his capital and labouring steadily like a servant without cessation built a *vāhyāli* for him. This fact is also alluded to in the Sanjan Plates of Amōghavarṣa I in which it is stated that while the *māndalikas* friendly to his father swept the *vāhyāli* in his capital free from dust for wages, the king of Vēngī and others did that without wages. (EI. xviii. p. 254).

succeeded by his young son, Amōghavarṣa I. Taking advantage of the tender age of their sovereign, several Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatories rose up in rebellion against him, and his authority was practically suspended between 816 and 821 A.D.[1] It was not possible, in these circumstances for the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch to take interest in the affairs of Vēngī, and support actively Bhīma Saḷuke against his brother. Vijayāditya II saw that the time suitable for overthrowing his brother had come at last; he pressed home his advantage. With the help of his Haihaya cousin, Nṛpa Rudra, he attacked Bhīma vigorously, and after a fierce fight lasting for two years, inflicted a crushing defeat on him in A.D. 818, and expelled him from the kingdom.

The expulsion of Bhīma Saḷuke from Vēngī, and the establishment of Vijayāditya II as the undisputed master of the country created a new situation. Vēngī was no longer a Rāṣṭrakūṭa dependency, but an independent state under a warlike monarch, who was determined to make his power felt. Vijayāditya was not likely to forget the part played by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the civil war between him and his brother. Now that he had finally overthrown his brother, it was expected that he would next turn towards his brother's Rāṣṭrakūṭa allies, and chastise them for their interfeıence in the affairs of his kingdom. The disturbed condition of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominions invited in fact a foreign enemy. Kakka Suvarṇavarṣa of Gujarat who was directing the government of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom on behalf of his cousin, the boy king, Amōghavarṣa I, realised that under the circumstances it was not possible to oppose Vijayāditya with any chances of success, if he launched an attack on the Rāṣṭrakūṭa

1. Altekar: The Rāshṭrakūṭas. p. 73-4.

possessions. He therefore opened negotiations with Vijayāditya and made peace with him. To ensure the continuance of friendly relations, he gave his own sister Śīlamahādēvī in marriage to Kali-Viṣṇuvardhana, the son and heir of Vijayāditya II and the lord of Vēngī.

The remaining years of Vijayāditya's reign appear to have been peaceful. Freed from anxiety about the stability of his position and the safety of the kingdom, he engaged himself in peaceful pursuits. He was deeply religious, devoted specially to the worship of his favourite deity, Śiva. He was conscientious and held himself morally responsible for the deeds of violence committed by him even on the field of battle. Stricken with remorse for the enormous loss of life in the wars with his enemies, and desirous of atoning for the sin incurred thereby, he inaugurated a series of religious and charitable works all over the country. In every place, where he fought with the enemy, he erected a temple to Śiva called Narēndrēśvara, after one of his titles, Narēndramṛgarāja or 'the lion among kings', which he seems to have assumed to indicate his victories over his brother and his Rāṣṭrakūṭa allies. For the maintenance of worship in these shrines, he endowed them richly with land and made adequate provision for all the necessary services including music. He built one hundred and eight *sattras* attached to the shrines, where arrangements were made for feeding people. He also established *agraharas*, set up *prapas* or sheds for the distribution of water to thirsty travellers, planted groves and pleasure gardens and excavated tanks for irrigation purposes.[1] It is evident that the large scale building operations undertaken by the king should have

1. JTA. i. p. 146.

given a great impetus to the architecture and the allied arts. The numerous temples built by him must have employed in their service large numbers of artists, musicians, dancers, painters, scholars and learned men, and served as academies of art and letters.

VIṢṆUVARDHANA V (A.D. 846-847)

After an eventful reign of forty years, Vijayāditya II breathed his last. He was succeeded by his son Viṣṇuvardhana V, who ruled for a short period of eighteen months. Though the title, Kali (hero) usually prefixed to his name indicates that he was a distinguished warrior, nothing is known about his achievements. His reign appears to have been peaceful. He probably won distinction fighting against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas during the reign of his father. He married, as noticed already, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess, Śīlakka or Śīlamahādēvī, and got by her four sons, Vijayāditya, Vikramāditya, Nṛpa Kāma, and Yuddhamalla, the eldest of whom succeeded him on the throne.

CHAPTER IX

GUṆAGA VIJAYĀDITYA

Vijayāditya III or Guṇaga Vijayāditya, as he is commonly referred to in the inscriptions of his descendants, seems to have ascended the throne in A.D. 848-49 after the short reign of his father.[1] He was the most famous of the early Cāḷukya rulers of Vēngī, and during his long reign, the Eastern Cāḷukya power reached the zenith of its glory, and the kingdom of Vēngī attained the widest extent which it was ever destined to attain. Vijayāditya inherited the warlike qualities of his father and grandfather, and he seems to have been frequently at war with his neighbours almost from the very beginning of his reign.

Sources :—All that is known about his reign is gathered from the inscriptions. Though several inscriptions of his own reign have come down to us, they tell us comparatively little about his achievements, but in the records of his descendants who appear to have held him in high estimation, several important facts about his wars are

1. Though several records of his reign have come to light, they furnish no data by means of which the date of his accession can be calculated. As, however, the coronation of his nephew and successor, Cāḷukya Bhīma I, took place in A.D. 892, and as Vijayāditya II is said to have ruled, according to all the inscriptions of his descendants, for a period of forty-four years, taking the year of his accession as well as of his demise to be current and not expired years, he should have ascended the throne in A.D. 849-50.

preserved and they throw much valuable light on the political condition of Vēngī and South India during his time. The information furnished by the inscriptions about the military activities of Guṇaga Vijayāditya may be briefly set forth first for the convenience of study. In the first year of his coronation, he invested Paṇḍaranga with the fillet (*paṭṭa*) of the *sēnāpati* and sent him with the feudatory forces (*sāmanta-paḍava*) against the Bōya-koṭṭams. Paṇḍaranga captured the twelve Bōya-koṭṭams and caused Vēngī-nāḍu to grow (in extent); he dismantled the fort of Kaṭṭem (*Kaṭṭempu-durgam*) and caused Kandukūr, which he greatly admired, to become like Bejavāḍa.[1] He is also said to have set fire, very probably on the same occasion, to the city of Nellore.[2] Commanded by the king of the Raṭṭas, he set out at the head of his army, and having put to death, Mangi, the ruler of the great Noḷamba country, inflicted a severe defeat on the Gangas, whom he compelled to flee for refuge to the summit of the Gangakūṭa hill.[3] Vijayāditya took under his protection a Cōḷa prince, who was reduced to helplessness by the invasion of a mighty foe who came upon him.[4] The Vallabha, unable to offer resistance, submitted to him and is said to have offered worship to his shoulders.[5] His general, Paṇḍaranga, set out, at his command, at the head of an army and having routed king Kannara in battle, put down the pride of his ally Sankila, the ruler of Dāhaḷa. He entered Daḷe-nāṇḍu,

1. EI. xix. pp. 271-277.
2. Cp. No. 1 of 1913-14.
3. EI. v.p. 125; I.A. xiii. p. 56; SII. I. p. 36.
4. Bhārati v. pp. 619-20.
5. EI. vii. p. 186. Dr. Fleet renders the expression '*Vallabha-sam =Abhyar ccita-bhujaḥ*' as 'to whose arm great honour was paid by the Vallabha king'. Bhārati xxiii. p. 486.

and Dāhaḷa-*nirutambu*, and set-fire to its capital Kiraṇapura, where Kannara and his ally were staying at the time, together with another city called Acalapura.[1] Vijayāditya III took possession, probably on this occasion, of the symbols of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, and the Sun and the Moon, as well as the Pāli-dhvaja, which he set up at the gate of his own palace.[2] He adopted the five great musical instruments, which, during his age, denoted imperial dignity,[3] and assumed several titles such as Paracakra Rāma, Tripuramartya-Māhēśvara, Vīra-makaradhvaja, Bhuvanakandarpa etc., indicative perhaps of his valour and personal beauty. Besides his wars with the Vallabha and others already enumerated, Vijayāditya is said to have vanquished other enemies. It is said that he defeated the Gangas of Kaḷinga and obtained wealth from them. He attacked the Kōsalas, reduced Cakrakoṭṭam to ashes and captured from them elephants ; and from the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas with whom he apparently came into conflict, he took gold.[4]

The history of Vijayāditya's wars and the circumstances under which he came into conflict with his enemies are generally unknown. A close examination of available

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1. Bhārati v pp 619-20 ; JBORS. viii. p. 82 f, Cp. 14 of 1917-18, SII. i. p. 36 ; EI. ix. p. 47 ; Cp. 26 of 1937-8, JAHRS. xi. p. 80 f, Cp. 15 of 1917-18, ARE. 1918, Part ii. p. 132.

2. Bhārati v. Part i. pp. 90-110, JAHRS. v. pp. 101-116.

3. EI. vi. 98 f. In the Nilgund inscription, dated A.D. 866, Amōghavarṣa I, the Rāṣṭrākūṭa emperor, is spoken of as *samadhigata panca-mahāśabda Mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka.*

4. Cp. 14 of 1917-18 ; JTA. xi. p. 241., JBORS. viii. p. 82 f.

facts show clearly that these wars were the outcome of the conflicting territorial ambitions of the South Indian dynastic powers. The earliest of Vijayāditya's wars was perhaps directed against the Pallavas of Kāñcī, who still held sway over the Southern frontier of the Telugu country. The Addanki inscription states explicitly that in the first year of his coronation, that is, in A.D. 848-49, Guṇaga Vijayāditya dispatched an army consisting of the troops of the feudatory chiefs under the command of his Brahman general, Paṇḍaranga against the Bōyas, who were then in possession of the northern taluks of the present Nellore district. The Bōyas, were a hardy race of hunters, who rose to power in the hilly tracts along the north-eastern frontier of the Pallava kingdom during the 8th and 9th centuries of the Christian era; and the territory inhabited by them about the middle of the 9th century A.D., comprised of twelve *koṭṭams* of which Kandukūr and Kaṭṭem were the most important strongholds. The Bōyas owed allegiance to the Pallavas of Kāñcī, and the twelve *koṭṭams* occupied by them, as indicated by the term *koṭṭam*, which denoted an administrative division of the Pallava kingdom, must have formed an integral part of it. The Bōyas appear to have first risen to prominence in the days of the political turmoil consequent on the death of Paramēśvara Varman II, and the dynastic revolution which resulted in the accession of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla to the throne of Kāñcī. Pṛthvī Vyāghra, one of their chiefs, appears to have been an ally, or a subordinate of the Eastern Cāḷukya king of Vēngī, and opposed Pallavamalla's attempts to impose his sovereignty over the country. According to the Udayēndiram Plates, Udayacandra, the faithful general of Pallavamalla, pursued and defeated in the north a Niṣāda (i.e., Bōya) chief, named Pṛthvī Vyāghra who

running after the Aśvamēdha horse; conquered and annexed Viṣṇurāja's country; and having issued orders to Niravadya and others took from them beautiful necklaces, large quantities of gold, and elephants.[1] The territory of Pṛthvī Vyāghra lay obviously between the Pallava kingdom and the dominions of Viṣṇuraja i.e. Viṣṇuvardhana III, which extended beyond the Mannēṟu in the north of the Nellore district; and the battle of Nellūr in which Udayacandra won a victory was probably fought on the occasion, when Pṛthvī Vyāghra attempted to capture the Aśvamēdha horse. As a result of Udayacandra's victories, the Bōya country together with some of the southern districts of the Eastern Cāḷukya kingdom appears to have passed into the hands of the Pallavas. Nothing is known about the activities of the Bōyas during the next hundred years. They probably remained under the Pallavas; but sometime before the accession of Guṇaga Vijayāditya, they seem to have been subjugated by the Eastern Cāḷukyas; for, the Dharmavaram epigraph of Cāḷukya Bhīma I states that at the time of the coronation of Guṇaga, the Bōyas were in a state of rebellion.[2] Vijayāditya II, during the early years of Nandivarman III, when the Pallava kingdom was thrown into confusion by the Pāndyan invasion under Varaguṇa I, appears to have conquered them; but Nandivarman soon recovered his position, and with the help of

1. SII. ii. p. 368.

2. Bhārati v. ii. p. 619...*nnēlun=ala Rāma-nibhunitōḷan=eḍari (na-Bō) yalan-aḍavi sonpe.* Though the line is unfortunately damaged, and two important letters, *na, bō,* have to be restored, the meaning of the passage that the Bōyas were in a state of rebellion is quite clear.

the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Amōghavarṣa I, overthrew the Pāṇḍyas in the battle of Teḷḷāṟu about A.D. 845, and turned tables upon them.[1] He probably instigated the Bōyas to

1. The Sañjan Plates of Amōghavarṣa I (EI. xviii. p. 241, vv. 30-32) refer to his victories over the haughty Drāviḷa kings,—the Kēraḷa, the Pāṇḍya, the Cauḷika, and the Pallava. That this is not an empty boast is shown by the Udayēndiram Plates of Pṛthvīpati II, which state that Pṛthvīpati I, his grandfather, offered protection to some South Indian princes, attacked by Amōghavarṣa I. (SII. ii. p. 384). Besides, a Rāṣṭrakūṭa record from Chitaldrug district in the Mysore State refers to a victory of Dēva, a son of Amōghavarṣa I, in the battle of Paḷaiyāṟu (EC. x. Cd. 76). Now, the *Nandikkalambakam*, a poem that was composed in praise of Nandivarman III, refers to his victories at Teḷḷāṟu, Paḷaiyāṟu, Veḷḷāṟu, Nallāṟu and Kurugōḍu. His armies are said to have advanced as far as the Vaigai in the South. (IA. xi. p. 224; Gopalan, the Pallavas, p. 137).

Nandivarman III appears to have come at first into conflict with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and entered subsequently into an alliance with them; then, he seems to have proceeded against the Pāṇḍyas, and with the help of his new allies overthrew their power. The Sañjan Plates, it may be remembered, allude to Amōghavarṣa I's victory over the Pallavas. The territory extending as far as the Tungabhadra in the north-west was included in the Pallava dominions in the time of Dantivarman (EI. vi. No. 23. p. 243 f verse 18), and presumably also of his son. The first Drāmiḷa king, whom Amōghavarṣa would naturally have attacked, was the king of Pallavas. Nandivarman III, on getting information of the

take up arms against their Eastern Cāḷukya overlords and throw off their yoke. Guṇaga Vijayāditya was obliged to send an army under Paṇḍaraṅga, accompanied by the

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Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion, marched with his forces to oppose the invaders and barred their passage across the frontier. The battle of Kurugōḍu in which, according to the *Nandikkalambakam*, Nandivarman III won a victory, was fought on this occasion. Kurugōḍu is situated on the southern bank of the Tungabhadrā at a distance of about 12 miles from the river in the Bellary taluk of the Bellary district, and it probably commanded the route of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa armies to the south. In spite of his victory over the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Nandivarman III was obliged to make peace with the enemy and seek his support to overcome another powerful enemy, who attacked him in the rear, and threatened to overthrow his authority and annex his kingdom. The Pāṇḍyan king, Śrī Māra Śrī Vallabha, taking advantage of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion and the absence of Nandivarman III from the capital invaded the Pallava dominions and penetrated into the very heart of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. (See, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's Pāṇḍyan Kingdom p. 75). Amōghavarṣa I was also in need of an ally to checkmate the activities of the Western Gangas and the Eastern Cāḷukyas, who were constantly disturbing the peace of his empire. Therefore, he entered readily into an alliance with Nandivarman, to whom he gave his daughter Śankhā in marriage and sent his forces accompanied by his son Dēva to the south. Nandivarman III, having thus strengthened himself, marched upon the Pāṇḍyan monarch and inflicted a severe defeat on him near the village of Teḷḷāṟu in the Wandiwash taluk of the North Arcot district. Śrī Māra was obliged to retreat; and he was hotly pursued by the victorious Pallava and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa forces, who inflicted a

troops of the feudatory chiefs to bring the Bōyas back to subjection. Some of the important events of this war are mentioned in the inscriptions. Paṇḍaranga proceeded, as stated in his Addanki epigraph, against the twelve Bōya-koṭṭams, which he quickly overran and annexed to the kingdom of Vēngī thereby enlarging its extent. He dismantled the fort of Kaṭṭem, which was perhaps the most important stronghold of the Bōyas, and probably established himself at Kaṇḍukūr, which he made as famous as the city of Bejavāḍa.[1] There is reason to believe that Paṇḍaranga's campaign reached the frontier of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. In the Attili Copper Plate Grant of Cāḷukya Bhīma I, it is said that one of the three cities set fire to by Paṇḍaranga was Nellūr, a place of considerable importance in the South-eastern Telugu country.[2] The burning of Nellūr must have been accomplished on the occasion of the subjugation of the Bōya-koṭṭams. To round off his conquests, Paṇḍaranga seems to have marched farther south, and annexed the territory extending as far as the shore of the Pulicat lake.[3]

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series of defeats on his retreating army at Pālār, Veḷḷār, Palaiyār and other places. Nandivarman quickly overran the Pāṇḍyan dominions, and reached the Cape of Comorin, which, according to the *Nandikkalambakam*, he captured together with Toṇḍi of the Tennavan (*Nandikkalambakam* vv. 4, 81).

1. Bhārati v. ii. p. 484.

2. JTA. xi. p. 241.

3. In the extreme south of the Nellore district, a little to the north of the island Śrīharikōṭa, there is a village called Paṇḍrangam with a shrine dedicated to the God Paṇḍrangēśvara. That the village and the temple were already in

To establish his authority on a firm basis and keep the Bōyas under check, Guṇaga Vijayāditya conferred the conquered territory as an appanage on Paṇḍaranga, and posted him perhaps as the warden of the southern marches. Paṇḍaranga appears to have made Kandukūr in the Nellore district his capital; and that probably is the sense in which we have to understand the statement, *Kaṇḍukūr-Bejavāḍa-gāvince mecci*, of the Addanki inscription. The descendents of Paṇḍaranga continued to rule in this region for several generations, as shown by the Maliyampūṇḍi Grant of Amma II Vijayāditya.[1]

War with Rāhaṇa:—Guṇaga Vijayāditya seems to have been next involved in a war with Rāhaṇa. As the Dharmavaram epigraph which appears to describe the events of his reign in a chronological order, places this war immediately after the conquest of the Bōya-koṭṭams, and states explicitly that Guṇaga came into conflict with him after he ascended the *lōhāsana*[2] it must have taken

existence in the Cōḷa times is shown by a number of Cōḷa inscriptions going back to the reign of Rājarāja I (NDI. i, G. 86-105). The temple and the village owe their origin obviously to the great Cāḷukyan general, who founded them to commemorate his victory over his master's southern enemies.

1. EI. ix. p. 47.
2. Bhārati v. Part 1. p. 619.

The term *lōhāsana*, mentioned in the inscription, means a 'golden throne'. Sarvajña Sōmēśvara describes it in his *Abhilaṣitārtha Cintāmaṇi* (*Adh.* 9. *Viṁśati* 3. vv. 42-3) as follows:

place during the early years of the reign. Although Rāhaṇa, judging from the manner in which he is referred to in the inscription, appears to have been a chief of some importance,[1] it is not possible in the present state of our knowledge to ascertain either his dynastic affiliations or the territory over which he ruled.

War with Amōghavarṣa I: Some time subsequent to his victory over Rāhaṇa, Guṇaga Vijayāditya seems to have come into conflict with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch, Amōghavarṣa, though they were bound to each other by ties of kinship. It may be remembered that Guṇaga's mother, Śīlamahādēvi, was the first cousin of Amōghavarṣa I,

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Pancabhis=saptabhir=v=āpi navabhir=lōhajaiḥ padaiḥ
lōha-paṭṭa-kṛt=ādhāraiḥ lōha-jālakamūrdhani.
Paṭṭikā-paṭṭa-garbhastham kārpāsēna vinirmitam
lōhāsanam=idam prōktam=upariṣṭāt=tu kīlitam.

From this it is evident that *lōhāsana* denotes a seat resting on five, seven, or nine metallic legs, constructed with metallic plates, and surmounted with metallic springs and a cushion padded with cotton. A few more details of its construction and use are given in Pampa's *Vikramārjuna Vijaya* (14 : 24), where it is said to be a seat provided with an awning and intended for the accomodation of the great crowned monarchs attending the imperial durbar.

Sārcida lōh=āsandoḷ=a-
marcida bondarige paḷiya bittarige karam
perçuva mahimeya neyde ni-
mirce mahā-makuṭa baddhar=ōḷiyoḷ=irdar.

1. *Lōhāsanambekki Rāhaṇu noḍicina Vallabhu pampuna* i.e., at the instance of Vallabha (Guṇakanalla) who having ascended the Lōhāsana overcame Rāhaṇa.

being the daughter of his paternal uncle, Indra, the founder of the Gujarat branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family.[1] The circumstances under which this war broke out are, indeed, obscure. The Eastern Cāḷukya inscriptions pass over this war almost in silence, owing probably to the disastrous consequences, including the loss of national independence which followed in its wake. Nevertheless, a single indirect allusion in an Eastern Cāḷukya Copper Plate Grant,[2] and explicit claims, though often vague and uncertain, of victories over the Eastern Cāḷukyas in the contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa records leave no room for doubt that Guṇaga Vijayāditya was engaged in a war with Amōghavarṣa I about the middle of the 9th century A.D., and having sustained a defeat in battle he was obliged to conclude a disagreeable peace, acknowledging the latter's supremacy. In the Nilgund epigraph dated A.D. 866, it is said that the king of Vēngī was one of the subordinate monarchs, who paid obeisance to Amōghavarṣa I.[3] The Sañjan Plates dated A.D. 872 state that the lord of Vēngī (i.e. Guṇaga Vijayāditya, who was then ruling the country) unlike the other feudatories who worked for wages, swept the refuse off the *Vāhyālī* or the road along which Amōghavarṣa I was accustomed to take pleasure rides.[4]

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1. JTA. i. pp. 140-50.
2. SII. i. 36, p. 38.
3. EI. vi. p. 103.

Ari-nṛpati-makuṭa-ghaṭṭita-caraṇas=sakalabhuvana-varddhita-śauryyaḥ Vaṅg=Āṅga-Magadha-Māḷava-Vēngīśair-arcitō='Tiśayadhavaḷaḥ.

4. *Nikṛti-vikṛta-Gāṅgāś=śṛunkhal=ābaddhaniṣṭhā mṛtimayir=Anukūlā maṇḍalēśā svabhṛtyā virajasam=ahitenur-yasya vāhyāli-bhūmim parivṛtim=anuviṣṭyā Vēngīnāth=ādayō='pi.*

EI. xviii. p. 246.

It is evident from this that the king of Vēngī, that is, Guṇaga Vijayāditya was a feudatory of Amōghavarṣa I. This is indirectly corroborated by the evidence of the Idar Plates of Amma I, according to which Guṇaga Vijayāditya marched at the behest of the Raṭṭēśa against the Gangas and defeated them in battle.[1] It is believed that Raṭṭēśa mentioned in this inscription was the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II, the son and successor of Amōghavarṣa I.[2] This, however, is improbable For, there is little evidence to show that the Gangas were ever hostile to Kṛṣṇa II, or that he was strong enough to command the services of such a powerful king as the ruler of Vēngī, who appears to have been opposed to him since his accession to the throne. It is, therefore, evident that the Rāṭṭēśa under consideration was none other than Amōghavarṣa I himself; and that Guṇaga Vijayāditya, who attacked the Gangas at his command, was his subordinate and not the ruler of an independent kingdom.

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1. SII. I No. 36, p. 38. *Gaṁgān-angaja-vairi-śaktir-asamān Raṭṭēśa saṁcōditō Jitvā* etc. Dr. Hultzsch, the editor of the inscription, takes the expression '*saṁcōdita*' to mean 'challenged by' but the root '*saṁcud*' of which it is a derivative does not convey this sense. It means, on the contrary 'to ask', 'to solicit', 'to enjoin', 'to incite' etc.

2. Fleet; DKD. Bom. Gaz. Vol. I. Part II. pp. 411-12. Dr. Altekar, however, does not feel so certain. He seems to keep an open mind on the subject. "It seems" says he, 'that after this defeat either Amōghavarṣa or Kṛisṇa II suggested to the defeated ruler, the idea of attacking the Gangas and their feudatories, the Noḷambas, offering free passage to the Vēngī army and probably some help also in men and money"—Rāṣṭrakūṭas. p. 93.

The exact time and the circumstances in which Guṇaga Vijayāditya lost his independence cannot be definitely ascertained at present. It is, however, certain that this happened some time before A.D. 866, when the king of Vēṅgī is referred to in the inscriptions of Amōghavarṣa as one of his feudatories. Of the events of the war practically little is known. The inscriptions of Amōghavarṣa himself yield no information; but a few incidents that are mentioned in the records of his successors deserve attention. The Bagumra Plates of Indra III, for instance, allude to the destruction of a place called 'Stamba' by the Cāḷukyas, whom Amōghavarṣa 'destroyed just as a man burns the chick-pea plants, the stalks of which have been pulled out by the roots."[1] The Cambay and Sangli Plates of Govinda IV state that Amoghavarṣa pleased Yama, the God of death, by feeding him with parched gram, which were the Cāḷukyas, on the battle-field of Vingavalli.[2] Though the information supplied by these inscriptions is not very illuminating, they seem to point out some of the important landmarks in the history of this war. It began probably by the Eastern Cāḷukya invasion of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominions. The main attack appears to have been directed against Stamba, that is, the modern town of Cumbum in the east of the present Kurnool district, which was situated on the

1. EI. IX. No. 4. p. 39. v. 13.

Samūlō='nmūlıta-stamba daṇḍēn=ānīta-kanṭakāḥ

Yō daha=ddvēṣinas=caṇḍa—Cāḷukyān=caṇakān=iva.

2. EI. vii. No. 6. p. 43.

Tasmāc=c=Amōghavarṣō=bhavad=atula-balō yēna kōpād =apūrvaiś=Cāḷuky=ābhyūṣa-khādyair=jjanita-rati Yamah prīṇitō Vingavallyām.

frontier between the two kingdoms.[1] The city which fell into the hands of the Eastern Cāḷukyas was completely devastated. Notwithstanding the initial success, which attended his arms, Guṇaga Vijayāditya appears to have met with severe reverses later. Amōghavarṣa mustered his forces and moved towards the frontier to check his advance. Nothing is known about the activities of either party, except that they met ultimately on the battle-field of Vingavalli, where the Cāḷukyas suffered a crushing defeat and as a consequence forfeited their independence.

The invasion of Gangavāḍi : Guṇaga Vijayāditya's expedition against the Gangas is mentioned in several Eastern Cāḷukya copper-plate grants, though they do not make it clear which of the two families of that name which were then ruling in South India that was the object of his attack. The Maliyampūṇḍi Grant of Amma II, which associates the Noḍambas with the Gangas, seems to point out that it was the Western Ganga family ruling over the Southern Karṇāṭaka country that was involved in the expedition.[2]

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1. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar identifies Stamba with Tāmralipta i.e., 'the modern Tamluk, the headquarters of the sub-division of the same name of the Midnapur district Bengal' (EI. ix. p. 27.) This is highly improbable. There is no evidence to show that Guṇaga Vijayāditya ever invaded Bengal, and penetrated as far north as Tamluk near the mouth of the Hoogly. Moreover, Stamba, which is mentioned in connection with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa-Eastern Cāḷukya wars, must have stood somewhere within the territories of the two dynasties, and not in the far away Bengal.

2. EI. ix. p. 47.
Hatvā bhūri Noḍamba-rāṣṭra-nṛpatim Mangim mahā-samgarē Gamgān=āśrita Gamga-kūṭa sikharān-nirjjitya......
The Noḷamba-rāṣṭra, which was a, 'thirty-two thousand' country

This is also supported by the evidence of the Attili Grant of Cāḷukya Bhīma I, which, while associating Mangi like the other Eastern Cāḷukya inscriptions with the Gangas, mentions in juxtaposition to them the Kāḷinga Gangas or the Gangas of Kaḷinga.[1]

The cause of the expedition is well-known. Guṇaga Vijayāditya himself had no quarrel with the Gangas. He was obliged to embark on the expedition by the command of Amōghavarṣa, the king of the Raṭṭas, of whom he became a subordinate. Sometime after his victory at Vingavalli over Guṇaga Vijayāditya, Amōghavarṣa had to face a grave crisis owing to the outbreak of serious disturbances in his dominions The trouble appears to have started in the south. The Gangas of Talakād, who were first subdued by Kṛṣṇa I, did not bear their yoke of subordination lightly. Successive Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarchs found it necessary to wage war upon them to keep them under subjection. The most serious of the Ganga rebellions seems to have broken out sometime during the third

embraced portions of the Bellary and the Anantapur districts of the Madras Presidency and parts of the Kolar and Tumkur districts of the Mysore State. Moreover, the Noḷambas were the feudatories of the Western Gangas at this time. The contiguity of the Noḷamba- rāṣṭra to Gangavāḍi coupled with the political subordination of Noḷambas to the Western Gangas makes it quite clear that the Gangas defeated by Guṇaga Vijayāditya were not the rulers of Kaḷinga but of Karṇāṭaka.

1. JBORS. viii. p. 82 f.

Kāḷinga-Ganga-rūpy=ādi Kōsal-ēśa divp=ādi ca
Pāṇḍya- Pallava=hēm=ādi haratyā ittham=āharat
Gangān=arōpayad=Ganga-kūṭam Mangı śirōc=chinat
Kṛṣṇam raṇē jayad=vaktum kas=samarthō susāhasān.

quarter of the 9th century, when, under the leadership of their king, Nītimārga Raṇavikrama, they made a determined effort to throw off the yoke of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. They were joined by their neighbours, the Pallavas of Noḷambavāḍi and several other Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatories, who treacherously turned hostile and forswore their allegiance to Amōghavarṣa. The situation was, indeed, serious, and it looked as if the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power in Gangavāḍi was about to collapse. Amōghavarṣa had to take steps to maintain his authority and preserve the integrity of his kingdom. Unwilling to trust his nobles in whom his faith was profoundly shaken, he despatched his *mūlabala*, the hereditary forces, usually held in reserve, under their commander, Bankeya Sellakētana of the Mukuḷa family. Bankeya, who was a brave soldier and a faithful servant of his master, proceeded to Gangavāḍi, and was busily engaged in concerting measures for putting down the rebels with a stern hand. He defeated the Ganga king, Nītimārga in battle and captured the strong fort of Kēdaḷa which was defended by his *mūlabala*. Bankeya next crossed the river Kāvērī and carried fire and sword into the enemy's territory. Before he could complete his work, he was, however, obliged to leave the scene of his victories, and hasten, at the command of his master, to the northern provinces of the kingdom. While the campaign against the Gangas was still in progress, a great rebellion broke out in the north; prince Kṛṣṇa, the heir-apparent to the throne, seems to have joined the rebels; and the situation became so serious that Amōghavarṣa was obliged to recall Bankeya from Gangavāḍi and send him to the north with all his forces.[1]

1. EI. vi. pp. 30-1. vv. 19-28.

Amōghavarṣa I did not, however, abandon the campaign in Gangavāḍi and leave the Gangas free to reoccupy the territory taken from them by Bankeya. It was to take the place of Bankeya and complete the work half accomplished by him that Amōghavarṣa commanded Guṇaga Vijayāditya to march against the Gangas. Guṇaga set out, in obedience to the command of his overlord, with his army and proceeded towards Gangavāḍi; but his progress was arrested on the way, and Poḻalcōra Noḷambādhirāja I, who seems to have been known also as Mangi, obstructed his path and offered him battle,[1] but

1. EI. ix. p. 47.

Hatvā-bhūri-Noḍamba-rāṣṭra-nṛpatim Mangim=mahā-samgarē. Though it is clearly stated here that Mangi was the ruler of Noḍamba-rāṣṭra, no king of this name is known to have ruled in Noḷambavāḍi at this time. Moreover, the genealogy of the Noḷamba Pallavas, described in their published records, does not mention any king of the name of Mangi No doubt, there was a Mangaḷa, the founder of the family, whose name could have been abridged into Mangi; but he belonged to an earlier age, and could not have possibly been a contemporary of Guṇaga Vijayāditya. To get over this difficulty, certain modern writers have put forward some suggestions which must be rejected as untenable. Dr. Altekar, is of opinion that Mangi was 'a relative of the ruler of Noḷambavāḍi' (Rāṣṭrakūṭas, p. 94); and Mr. M. V. Krishna Rao believes that he was the commander of the Noḷamba forces (The Gangas of Talkad. p. 54). These views are not acceptable, as they are opposed to the evidence of the Eastern Cāḷukya inscriptions, which assert uneqivocally that Mangi was *Noḍamba-rāṣṭra-nṛpati* or the king of the Noḍamba country. Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma suggests that Mangi might have been an alias

Guṇaga Vijayāditya inflicted a crushing defeat over the Noḷamba army, and put to death Mangi who was leading his forces in person.[1] It was probably on this occasion

of Poḷalcōra Noḷambādhirāja I, who is known from the inscriptions to have been the ruler of Noḷambavāḍi about this time. (*Vēngī Cāḷukyulu* pp. 37-8). The suggestion is indeed plausible. The Noḷamba records show that Poḷalcōra Noḷambādhirāja was ruling over Noḷambavāḍi about A.D. 860. (EI. x. pp. 58-9); and the Eastern Cāḷukya records state explicitly that at the time of Guṇaga Vijayāditya's invasion of Gangavāḍi, that is, about A.D. 860 or a little earlier Noḷambavāḍi was under the rule of a prince called Mangi. As the two chiefs could not have been ruling simultaneously over the same kingdom, it is not at all unreasonable to suppose that Poḷalcōra Noḷambādhirāja I and Mangi were one and the same person. The identity of Poḷalcōra Noḷambādhirāja and Mangi may, therefore, be accepted tentatively as a working hypothesis.

1. EI. v. p 125. In the Masulipatam Plates of Vijayāditya III, it is said that the king made the gift of the village of Traṇḍaparu to the Brahman Vinayaḍi Śarman as a reward for the marvellous advice which he gave to the king on the battlefield suggesting the method of putting Mangi to death.

Hatvā Mangim vijita-sakal=ārāti-bhūpāla-varggam
rāg=ōdrēk=ādhyasita-nṛpati-tyāga-śauryya-pratāpam-
nānā-hēty-āhata-haya-bhaṭōnmatta-hasti-prakīrṇṇē
yuddhē yasya dvijagaṇa-varasy-ādbhut=ādēśa-tuṣṭaḥ.

Commenting on this passage, Dr. A. S. Altekar observes, 'We find Vijayāditya making a grant to a learned Brāhmaṇa, on the occasion of an eclipse, as a reward for the advice that he had given in the thick of the battle, which

that Kaḍeyarāja, the father of the famous Paṇḍaranga, laid down his life on the battle-field, while fighting by the

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enabled him to kill Mangi. Since Vijayāditya could bring about the death of Mangi by following the advice of a Brāhmaṇa who, to judge from his name, and from the fact that he is the donee of a grant made on the occasion of an eclipse, was a non-fighter, it is probable that some trick may have been played to bring about his death'. (Rāṣṭrakūṭas, p. 94, n. 14). Mr. M. V. Krishna Rao echoes the same view: 'Vijayāditya invaded Noḷambavāḍi and killed the valiant general of Noḷambas, Mangi, by an act of perfidy.' (The Gangas of Talakad. p. 84). These views are not based on evidence. True, Vinayaḍi Śarman, who gave advice to Guṇaga Vijayāditya how best he could overcome Mangi, was a Brāhmaṇa and the recipient of the gift of land from his grateful master. It does not follow from this that he was a non-fighter. Dr. Altekar does not explain what a 'non-fighter' like Vinayaḍi Śarman was doing 'in the thick of the battle.' That is certainly not the place where one would expect a non-fighter to be present. The fact is that Vinayaḍi Śarman, like most of the South Indian Brāhmaṇas of the Pre-Muslim period, was a soldier. He was a companion at arms of the Kaḍeyarāja I, and of his son, Paṇḍaranga, two other distinguished Brāhmaṇa soldiers in the service of Guṇaga Vijayāditya The advice which he gave to his master need not necessarily have involved any trick or perfidy. He might have suggested some tactical movement of troops on the battle-field which brought victory in its train.

side of his sovereign.[1] The victory over the Noḷambas freed Guṇaga Vijayāditya's path from obstacles, and the road to Gangavāḍi was now open; but, when he arrived at Gangavāḍi, he found the Gangas somewhere near their eastern frontier ready to oppose his advance. However, in the engagement that took place between the two armies, Guṇaga Vijayāditya inflicted a defeat on them, and scattered their forces. Unable to offer him any effective resistence in the open, the Gangas retired to Gangakūṭa i.e., the lofty hill of Śivaganga in the north-west of the Nelmangala taluk of the Bangalore district, and entrenched themselves on its summit, trusting perhaps to its inaccessibility.[2] Guṇaga Vijayāditya, however, pursued them

1. Bhārati, v. i. p. 616.
Para-cakrēṇa yudhv=ājau datta-prāṇasya bhūbhṛtē
Sūnuḥ Kaḍeya-rājasya Paṇḍarangōguṇ=ādhikaḥ.

2. The Attili Grant of Cāḷukya Bhīma I (JTA. xi. p. 241). states that Guṇaga Vijayāditya 'caused the Gangas to mount Gangakūṭa (*Gangān-ārōpayad=Gangakūṭam*). One of the Eastern Cāḷukya records, however, refers to the place as '*tung-ādri*' or the lofty hill ('*tung=ādrēh śṛngam=urvyām aśanir=iva mudā pātayat.*' JAHRS. xi. p. 85). The Gangakūṭa, which has remained unidentified so far, must be a lofty hill situated somewhere near the eastern frontier of the Ganga country; for, Guṇaga Vijayāditya is said to have proceeded to this place after his encounter with the Noḷambas. (See the Maliyampūṇḍi, Intēru, Kandayam and Pabhuparṟu Plates.) The order is, however, reversed in others. The former must be taken as correct, as it was natural for an invader from the east to pass first through the Noḷamba country on his way to Gangavāḍi. The only lofty hill not easily accessible to an enemy in this region is the Śivaganga in the Nelamangalam taluk of the Bangalore district. The

thither, and notwithstanding the steepness of the ascent, he boldly scaled the hill and inflicted on them another defeat.[1]

The series of disasters, which overtook the Gangas in the field, must have convinced them that further resistence was useless. They realised that it would be most advantageous for them to make peace, while their cause was not yet irretrievably lost. Amōghavarṣa I was also eager to come to an understanding with the Gangas so that he might be free to devote his undivided attention to the suppression of the rebellion in the north and bring back his recalcitrant cousins of Gujarat to subjection. A treaty was accordingly concluded, according to the terms of which the Ganga king, Nītimārga Raṇavikrama should be allowed to rule his kingdom on condition that he recognized the supremacy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. To secure permanently the allegiance of the Gangas to his dynasty, Amōghavarṣa I bestowed the hand of his daughter, Abbalabbā, on Guṇaduttaranga Būtuga I, the younger son of Nītimārga Raṇavikrama,[2] a step which resulted in the conversion of the irreconcilable hostility of the Gangas into devoted loyalty lasting until the very last days of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarchy.

Śivaganga known also as Śivagangēśādri (EC. ix NL. 84) is a lofty conical hill rising to a height of 4559 feet. It is a well known place of pilgrimage, held in great sanctity by the Vīra Śaivas, who call it Dākṣiṇa Kāśi. This must be identical with the Gangakūṭa of the Eastern Cāḷukya inscriptions.

1. EI. ix. p. 47.

2. EI. iii. p. 179.

War with Kṛṣṇa II: Very little is known about the events which happened in the years which immediately followed Guṇaga Vijayāditya's expedition to Gangavāḍi. He was probably engaged in looking after the internal administration of his kingdom. The last phase of his reign appears, however, to have been one of intense military activity, during which he was involved for the most part in a war with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II. The causes of this conflict are not known. It was probably the outcome of an attempt on the part of Guṇaga Vijayāditya to repudiate the supremacy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and reassert his independence. The time was indeed propitious, and the chances of success appeared to be quite good. The old Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Amōghavarṣa I, died about A.D. 880., and his son, Kṛṣṇa, II who was perhaps associated with him in the administration of the kingdom during the last years of his reign, ascended the throne.[1] The reign of Kṛṣṇa II appears to have commenced with a foreign invasion. Mihira Bhōja or Bhōja I, the most powerful of the Gūrjara-Pratiīhāra kings of Kanauj, invaded the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom with the object of reconquering Mālva, the cradle of his family. Kṛṣṇa, no doubt, concerted measures to oppose his advance; but in a battle which was fought somewhere on the banks of the Narmadā, he was severely defeated, and had, as a consequence, to retreat into the interior of his dominions.[2] The Gūrjara-Pratīhāra invasion did not stop with the conquest of Mālva; it seems to have extended southwards into Lāṭa, which lay to the south of the river. An important passage in the Cambay Plates of Gōvinda IV alludes to the conquest and the occupation of Khēṭa, the capital of

1. Rāṣṭrakūṭas, p. 87.
2. EI. xix. pp. 174-77.

Lāṭa, and the territory dependent on it by an unnamed enemy who could have been none other than Bhōja I.[1]

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1. EI. vii. p. 38.

Tasmād-Akālavarṣō-nṛpatir = abhūd yat parākrama-trastaiḥ sadyaḥ=sa-maṇḍal=āgram Khēṭakam=ahitaiḥ parityaktam.

Considerable difference of opinion prevails among scholars regarding the identity of Khēṭaka and of the enemy who occupied it. Dr. Bhandarkar believes that Khēṭa mentioned in the Cambay Plates is none other than the Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital Mānyakhēṭa and the enemy Guṇaga Vijayāditya, who is known to have burnt the city of Kṛṣṇa (IA. xiii. p. 56). Dr. Altekar rejects Dr. Bhandarkar's view as untenable on the ground that Mānyakhēṭa was never known as Khēṭaka, nor occupied by any enemy at this time, and identifies the latter correctly with modern Kaira which was known as Khēṭaka in ancient times. Further, he is of opinion that the passage in the Cambay Plates cited above must also refer to the rebellion of the Gujarat Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their expulsion from the province by Kṛṣṇa II. (Rāṣṭrakūṭas, p. 98, n. 30). It is true that, as pointed out by Dr. Bhandarkar, Guṇaga Vijayāditya invaded the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom and burnt the city of Kṛṣṇa ; but the Eastern Cāḷukya inscriptions explicitly state that the city so burnt by him was Kiraṇapura, a small town in the Baleghat district of C.P. (Ibid p. 95), and not the Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital (*Kiraṇapuram= adhākṣīt Kṛṣṇa-rājas=sthitam yaḥ tripuram=iva Mahēśaḥ Paṇḍaranga pratāpī* (EI. ix. p. 47). It follows from this that the enemy who occupied the Lāṭa country together with its capital Khēṭaka could not have been Guṇaga Vijayāditya. Nor can it be maintained that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes of Gujarat were involved in this matter, as contended by Dr. Altekar. There is no evidence in support of

Taking advantage of the confusion in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominions caused by the invasion, Guṇaga Vijayāditya proclaimed his independence and declared war upon Kṛṣṇa II.

The main incidents of this war are described in several Eastern Cāḷukya records. The Sātaluru Grant of Guṇaga Vijayāditya himself, which belongs most probably to the last years of his rule, alludes to his conquest of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom and the establishment of his suzerainty over the whole Dakṣiṇāpatha including the Trikaḷinga country. It is stated the Guṇakenallāta i.e., Guṇaga Vijayāditya set up at the gate of his palace, the symbols of the rivers Gangā and Yamunā of the Sun and the Moon and the Pālikētana, and that the four quarters of the earth were alarmed by hearing the sound of his five great musical instruments, and that he ruled over the Dakṣiṇāpatha together with Trikaḷinga.[1] To bring out

his view that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Gujarat had ever risen in rebellion against Kṛṣṇa II. The available evidence, on the contrary, indicates the existence of friendly relations between them and their overlord. Kṛṣṇarāja of Gujarat actively co-operated with Kṛṣṇa II in his wars against the Gurjāra-Pratīhāras, whom he defeated in the battle of Ujjayini sometime before A.D. 888. (I.A. xiii. pp. 63-68). The Gujarat Rāṣṭrakūṭas, no doubt, disappear from history subsequent to this date. The cause of their disappearance must be sought in the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra invasions, which swept over their territories under the descendants of Bhōja I.

1. Bhārati i. No. 1. pp. 104-5, JAHRS. v. p. 113.
Guṇakenallātan=iti jaya-gīyamāna-kīrtiḥ san=Dakṣiṇāpatha sa Trikaḷinga-dēśam=anv-apālayat......
Tatra tṛtīya Vijayādityaḥ dvāri-pratisṭhāpita Gangā-Yamunā Candr-Āditya-Pālikētanaḥ sam=adhigata panca-mahā śabda-śravaṇa-vitrāsita catūr=āśā-cakraḥ....

the real significance of these assertions, it is necessary to give a brief account of the history of these symbols and the part they played in the international affairs in the Medieval Hindu period.

The symbols of the Gangā and the Yamunā probably signified at first the territorial sovereignty over the doab between the Ganges and the Jumna, and the Pālikētana or the Pālidhvaja banner represented the imperial dignity.[1] The symbols of the Gangā and the Yamunā as well as the Pālidhvaja were unknown in the Deccan before the third quarter of the 7th century A.D. During the reign of Vikramāditya I of Bādāmi, his son Vinayāditya, accompanied by his grandson Vijayāditya, led an expedition to Northern India, and having inflicted a defeat on the lord paramount of the entire Uttarāpatha, probably Vajraṭa, whom they found ruling in the Jumna-Gangetic doab, wrested from him the symbols of the Gangā and the Yamunā and the Pālidhvaja banner which constituted the insignia of his royalty.[2] The adoption of these symbols by the later

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1. A good description of the Pālikētana banner is given by Jinasēna in his Pūrvapurāṇa (Chapter XXII, vv. 219-38. I.A. XIV. 104-5.) Jina is said to have adopted this banner to symbolise his undivided lordship over the three worlds.

Ity=amī kētavo-mōha-nir-jjay=ōpārjjitā babhuḥ
vibhōs=tribhuvan-ēśitvam śamsamtō='nannya-gōcaram. (v. 237).

As religious writers usually ascribe the symbols of earthly sovereignty to their deities, it is not unreasonable to infer from this that Pālidhvaja or Pālikētana represented the imperial dignity.

2. IA.. xi. p. 112.

Cāḷukya kings of Bādāmi was probably intended to denote their claim for the supremacy over Northern India. On the fall of the Cāḷukya dynasty of Bādāmi, these symbols together with the Pālidhvaja were adopted by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who overthrew their power. Unlike the Cāḷukyas whom they supplanted, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were not satisfied with the theoretical assertion of a claim; they strove hard to establish their rule in the Jumna-Gangetic doab, which gave rise to the historic struggle with the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra rulers of Kanauj. Owing to these facts, the symbols of the Gangā and the Yamunā and the Pālidhvaja became in course of time the characterstic attributes of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarchy.

The association in the Sāṭalūru Grant of the symbols of the Gangā and Yamunā and the Pālidhvaja banner for the first time with the name of Guṇaga Vijayāditya is, indeed, significant. It implies that some time before the issue of the grant he overthrew the authority of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and appropriated their insignia. Similarly the assumption of the title '*samadhigata-pancamahāśabda*,' which at that time appears to have been a special mark of paramountcy, coupled with the explicit assertion of sovereignty over Dakṣiṇāpatha shows clearly that he displaced Rāṣṭrakūṭas and proclaimed himself as the supreme lord of the South. The Sātalūru Grant, though it refers to Guṇaga Vijayāditya's victory over the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the establishment of supremacy over Dakṣināpatha, gives little or no information about the circumstances under which he had been able to accomplish so mighty a task. The later Eastern Cāḷukya records, which, in fact, serve as a commentary on the Sātalūru Grant, describe the main incidents of Guṇaga Vijayādit-ya's war with Kṛṣṇa II. According to the Dharmavaram

epigraph, the earliest of these records, this war appears to have fallen into two distinct campaigns, separated by an expedition against some unnamed enemy undertaken on behalf of the Cōḷa, who sought his protection. In the first campaign, Paṇḍaranga, the general who was leading Guṇaga Vijayāditya's armies, is said to have seen the back of king Kannara i.e., Kṛṣṇa II in the battle and put down the pride of another king called Sankila; and in the second, he is said to have entered, of course, at the head of his army Kiraṇapura, Ḍahaḷa-niruta, Daḷenāḍu, and Acalapura.[1] The Attili Grant of Cāḷukya Bhima I, which is contemporaneous with the Dharmavaram epigraph, furnishes some more facts of this war. Guṇaga Vijayāditya, it is stated, set fire to the cities of Kiraṇapura and Acalapura besides Nellūrpura (which he burnt on a former occasion while waging war upon the Bōya-Koṭṭams), acquired the title of *Tripura-martya-mahēsvara*, won a victory over Kṛṣṇa in a battle, exacted silver from the Gangas of Kaḷinga, took elephants from the ruler of Kōsala and plundered the gold of the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas.[2] The Eḍēru Plates of Amma I state that both Kṛṣṇa II and Sankila, who were panic stricken, were present in their city, when the army of Guṇaga Vijayāditya set fire to it.[3] In the Kaluchumbar̤r̤u Grant of Amma II, the Vallabha king is represented as having personally offered worship to Guṇaga Vijayā-

1. Bhārati v. i. p. 619-20.

2. JTA. xi. p. 241.

3. SII. i. p. 36.

ditya's arms.[1] The Kandyam Plates of Dānārṇava, and the Pennēṟu the Pabhupaṟṟu and the Telugu Academy Plates of Śaktivarman I mention besides Kṛṣṇa and Sankila, a certain Baddega among Guṇaga's enemies to whom, however, he is said to have promised security (*abhayam*) from molestation.[2] And lastly the Piṭhāpuram inscription of Mallappadēva, while enumerating the events mentioned usually in this connection, introduces certain new facts not noticed elsewhere. Guṇaga Vijayāditya, according to this record, burnt a place called Cakrakūṭa, restored to Vallabhēndra his own exalted position and received elephants from the king of Kaḷinga.[3] The information gleaned from the inscriptions cited above shows clearly that the Eastern Cāḷukya army not only overran the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominions but penetrated into Dahaḷa, a nine lakh country, which was situated between the Bhāgīrathī (i.e., Ganges)

1. EI. vii. p. 186.

Sutas-tasya jyēṣṭhō Guṇaga Vijayāditya-patir=Ankakāṟas=
sākṣād=Vallabha-nṛpa-samabhyarcita-bhujaḥ.

2. Mad. Govt. or Mss. Lib. 15—6—26 i. pp. 348-58, JAHRS. xi. p. 80 f, JTA. iii. p. 407, Cp. No. 15 of 1917-18.

Angāt (*abdāt*) *=Saṁgrāma-rangē nija-lasad-asinā Magni-rāj=ōttam =āngam*
tumgādrēḥ sṛingam=urvvyām=aśanir=iva mud=āpātayat Kannar =ānkam
Niś=śamkam Samkilēna pradhita-jana-padād=durggamān=nirgga-mayya
drāg=dhāvam yaḥ pravēśyaḥ prabhur=abhayamanāḥ pratyapad Baddeg=ānkam.

3. EI. iv. pp. 233-4.

Yō='dhākṣīt=Cakrakūṭam Kiraṇapuragatam Samkilam Kṛṣṇa-yuktam
Yō=bhaiṣd=Vallabhēndram nija=mahimayutam yō-vyadhād=agrāhicca
Kāḷinga-prābhāt=ēbhān-sā=Guṇaga Vijayādityadēvō Mahēndras-
Catvārimśat=samā bhūvalayam=atha catussamyutā rakṣatisma.

and the Narmadā.[1] Throughout this war, Kṛṣṇa II appears to have been dogged by misfortune. He had to pass through the most critical period of his reign, when the shadow of disaster seems to have darkened his path. But for the loyal support of his allies, specially Sankila, and feudatories like Baddega, he would have most probably been swept away by the onrushing avalanche of the Cāḷukyan forces.

The first campaign: The information regarding Guṇaga Vijayāditya's first campaign against Kṛṣṇa II is indeed scanty. Beyond the fact that Kṛṣṇa and his ally Sankila having suffered defeat in the battle took to flight, nothing more is definitely known. Sankila who shared Kṛṣṇas' misfortune on the battle-field was the king of Dāhaḷa[2]; he was very probably identical with Sankuka[3] alias Śankaragaṇa Raṇavigraha, one of the eighteen sons of Kokkalla I, the Haihaya king of Cēdi, and was closely

1. MER. 1917. Part II. Para 37, Dynastic History II. p. 763

2. EI. ix. p. 51 '*Sad-Dāhal=ādhīśam Samkilam*'.

3. The name of this prince, according to Dr. A. S. Altekar, is 'Samkula', and not 'Samkila' (Rāṣṭrakūṭas pp. 95, 104n. 49). The Sangli Plates of Gōvinda IV, and the Karda Plates of Karka III, which he cites as his authorities, do not support his position. For, the former does not at all refer to this prince, by name; it only mentions him by his title Raṇavigraha (I.A. XII. 250), and the latter spells his name distinctly as 'Sankuka' (Ibid p. 265). It is hard to understand how Dr. Altekar hit upon the form 'Samkula'.

related to Kṛṣṇa II by marriage alliance.[1] Notwithstanding the support of such a powerful ally, Kṛṣṇa failed to

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1 The Karda Plates describe this relationship as follows (I.A. xii. p. 250) :

Tasmād=Akālavarṣō nṛpatiḥ......

Sahasrārjjuna vaṁśasya bhūsaṇam Kokkal=ātmajā

tasy=ābhavan=mahādēvī Jagattuṅgas=tatōjani.

Gambhīrād=ratna-nidhēr=bhūbhṛt pratipakṣa-rakṣaṇa-kṣamataḥ-

Kokkala-suta Raṇavigraha-jaladhēr-Lakṣmīḥ sam=utpannā.

The same subject is also dealt with in the Sangli Plates (Ibid. p. 265).

Cēd=īśo Daśakanṭha-darppa-daḷaṇah Srī Haihayānām kulē,

Kōkkallas-samabhūc=ca tasya tanayā yā Sankukasy-ānūjā,

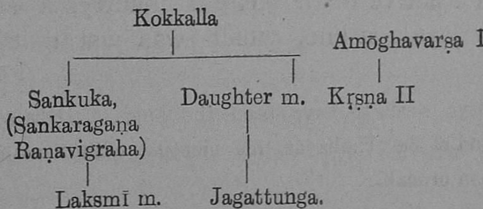
Tasyām Kṛṣṇa nṛpāt=tataḥ śṛta mahādēvī padāyām=abhūt,

tais=tair=yaḥ prathitō guṇair-bhuvi Jagattung=ābhidhānas=sutaḥ.

Cēd=īśvara Samkaragaṇa duhitari Lakṣmyām tatō Jagattungāt

Sūnur=abhūd=Indra=nṛpō bhāvi rājya-śriyō bharttā.

From these extracts it is clear that Kṛṣṇa II married a sister of Sankuka, the son of Kokkalla, the Haihaya king of Cēdi, and that Sankuka, who was also known as Sankaragaṇa and Raṇavigraha, had a daughter called Lakṣmī and that she was given in marriage to Jagattunga. The inter-relationship between the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and the Haihaya royal families may be represented by the following genealogical table.



As Sankila, the ally of Kṛṣṇa II and the enemy of Guṇaga

withstand successfully the Cāḷukyan attack. Though nothing definite can be asserted on the strength of the available meagre evidence, it seems reasonable, judging from the field of operations in the next campaign, which was confined more or less exclusively to Dāhaḷa, and the territories in its immediate neighbourhood, that Kṛṣṇa having been ousted from the hereditary possessions of his family was compelled to take refuge in the court of his ally.

The Southern Expedition: While Guṇaga Vijayāditya was engaged in conducting operations against Kṛṣṇa political developments in the South demanded his attention. According to the Dharmavaram epigraph, a Cōḷa chief, who was reduced to helplessness by the invasion of an unnamed enemy, appealed to him for help. Neither the identity of the Cōḷa nor that of his enemy who attacked him is disclosed in the inscription. It is possible that this Cōḷa was one of the numerous Telugu Cōḷa chiefs holding sway over the small principalities in the southern and the western districts of the Telugu country. The Ganga, the Vaidumba, the Noḷamba, and the Telugu Cōḷa chiefs were all involved in internecine warfare about this time[1], and the Telugu Cōḷa unable to maintain his own against his enemies might have solicited the help of Guṇaga Vijayāditya. The possibility that the Cōḷa suppliant might have been a native of the Tamil country, a scion of the famous Vijayālaya line, which was just rising to

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Vijayāditya is said to have been the king of Dāhaḷa, the home land of the Haihayas, his identity with Sankuka is more than probable.

1. EI. xxiv. No. 26 p. 183 f, JOR. xii. pp. 193 f.

prominence is not altogether excluded. The history of the Tamil country during the closing years of the 9th century A.D. is far from clear. The relations between Āditya I, the real founder of the Cōḷa kingdom of Tanjore, and his Pallava overlords were not always friendly. Assailed by the Pallava or the Pāṇḍya or by both together, Āditya might have turned in his difficulties to the north and solicited help from Guṇaga Vijayāditya. The statement in the Attili Grant of Cāḷukya Bhīma I, that Guṇaga plundered the gold of the Pāṇḍya and Pallava[1] lends colour to this view. Whoever might have been the Cōḷa suppliant who sought his help, Guṇaga, if the evidence of the Dharmavaram epigraph can be trusted, promptly responded to his call and saved him from destruction.

The Second Campaign against Kṛṣṇa II. This is but a continuation of Guṇaga Vijayāditya's war against Kṛṣṇa II described earlier. It is doubtful whether there was any cessation of hostilities between this and the previous campaign. Several details of this campaign, which enable us to follow the movements of the Eastern Cāḷukya forces, are fortunately preserved in their inscriptions. The most interesting feature, which has been scarcely noticed by any one so far, is that the operations during this campaign were confined, as noticed already, to the Dāhaḷa country, which did not form part of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom. Why Guṇaga Vijayāditya was obliged to invade Dāhaḷa, the home of the Haihaya kings of Cēdi, is far from clear. It can only be explained in a satisfactory manner on the

1. JTA. xi. 241.

assumption that Kṛṣṇa II, as a consequence of the defeats suffered by him in the earlier campaign, lost control over his hereditary dominions and had taken refuge at the court of his ally and brother-in-law Sankila, the ruler of Dāhaḷa. However that may be, the expedition set out from somewhere in Vēngī, and marched westward through the well known passes in the Eastern Ghats towards Dāhaḷa. The route passed through two or three independent kingdoms, which lay between Vēngī and the Cēdi territory, and it was necessary to subjugate them to secure a passage for the army. Guṇaga Vijayāditya, like the later Cōḷa emperors who set out from Vēngī for the conquest of Central and Northern India, had to begin his campaign by the subjugation of Kaḷinga. Of the three divisions into which Kaḷinga was divided from ancient times, two, the Central and the Southern, called the Madhya and the Dakṣiṇa-Kaḷingas respectively, were in the possession of the Eastern Cāḷukyas, since the time of Kubja-Visṇuvardhana.[1] Therefore, the Kaḷinga Ganga

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1. In the Boḍḍēri Grant of Kokkulivarma Mahārāja, Bhōgapuram in the Bimilipatam taluk, Vizagapatam district, is said to have been situated in the Madhya-Kaḷiṇga (ARE. Cp. 13 of 1908-9, Cf. Cp. 10 and 11 of 1908-9). In the Kaḷingattupparaṇi, a king of *Vaḍa* or North Kaḷinga is referred to (Cōḷas ii. p. 36). The Cōla inscriptions of the 11th century A.D. state explicitly that Mahēndragiri in the old Ganjam district was the northernmost boundary of Kaḷinga (SII. iii. No. 30; EI. xxi. p. 232). Now, if the region in the neighbourhood of Bimilipatam taluk of the Vizagapatam district was the Madhya-Kaḷinga, *Vaḍa* Kaḷinga which obviously extended up to the Mahēndragiri must have been situated to the north of it, and *Ten* or to Southern Kaḷinga to the south comprising

subdued by Guṇaga Vijayāditya must have been the independent ruler of North Kaḷinga, probably Dēvēndra varman, the donor of the Cīḍivalasa Plates or his father, Bhūpēndravarman[1]. The steps which the Eastern Ganga had taken to defend his kingdom are not known. It is, however, certain that he ultimately suffered defeat, and had to purchase peace by surrendering his wealth and war elephants.[2]

The victory over the Kaḷinga Ganga secured for him the mastery over the passes in the Eastern Ghats, commanding the route along which he had to march. This enabled him to cross the mountains safely and reach the open country which lay on the other side of the Ghats without incident. It was probably here that he came into conflict with Baddega, whose territories lay on his left flank. Baddega, though like Guṇaga Vijayāditya

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the tract of country corresponding roughly to the present East Godavari district.

1. JAHRS. II. p. 146 f. This statement is based on the assumption that the Ganga era started from A.D. 496 (IA. lxi. p. 237 f). Mr. M. S. Sarma has, no doubt, suggested a slightly later date. According to him the Ganga era began not in A.D. 496 but in A.D. 505-6 some ten years later. The position taken up here is not materially affected even if the latter turns out to be the actual starting point of the era, as the reigns of Dēvēndravarman and his father roughly cover the period under consideration.

2. The Attili Grant (JTA. xi. p. 241) refers to the surrender of wealth (*Kāḷinga-Ganga-rūpy=ādi*); and the Piṭhāpuram inscription (EI. iv. p. 233) mentions the elephants (*Kāḷinga prābhṛt=ebhān*).

was a Cāḷukya by birth, came of a different stock, and was a firm supporter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power. He was, as pointed out by the Government Epigraphist, a Western Cāḷukya prince, an ancestor of Arikēsarin II, the patron of the great Kannaḍa poet, Pampa.[1] Yuddhamalla I, the founder of the family, migrated, as stated in an earlier context, from the Sapādalakṣa country in Rajaputana to Northern Telingāṇa, where he carved out a small kingdom for himself and settled down at Bōdhan in the Nizamabad district of the Hyderabad State. The seat of his family, however, was shifted farther east to Lēmbulavāṭika or Lēmulavāḍa, the modern Vēmulavāḍa, in the Karimnagar district during the time of his successors. Baddega was a great warrior and a powerful prince. His exploits are described at some length in Pampa's *Vikramārjuna Vijaya* and the inscriptions of his descendants.[2] The exploits, however, belong to a later stage in his career, and throw no light on his relations with Guṇaga Vijayāditya; but the Eastern Cāḷukya records leave no room for doubt that he sustained defeat in a battle and was compelled to sue for peace. The silence of Pampa and the *prasasti* writers of the Lēmulavāḍa chiefs on this episode in Baddega's life may be taken as an indirect corroboration of the evidence of the Eastern Cāḷukya records. The sway of Baddega extended perhaps to Bastar, the ancient Cakrakūṭa-maṇḍala, which was situated immediately to the north-east of his dominions on the other side of the Gōdāvarī. It may be remembered that Bastar, though situated at present in the Central Provinces, was included

1. ARE. 1918, Part II, Para 5.

2. *Vikramārjuna Vijaya.* 1 : 16-29, Sources of the Medieval History of Deccan, II, p. 48; JAHRS. vi. p. 169 f.

in Telingāṇa until the fall of the Kākatīya monarchy in the first quarter of the 14th century A.D. and the Lēmulavāḍa chiefs, who were the masters of the territory on the south bank of the river Gōdāvarī, might have exercised some authority over it. If this surmise is not altogether wide of the mark, it may be presumed that the conflict arose out of Guṇaga Vijayāditya's attempt to seize the fort of Cakrakūṭa, which stood at an important strategic point, on the route of his march. Though nothing is known about the details of the warfare, two facts stand out clearly, viz., that the Cāḷukya army succeeded in taking the fort of Cakrakūṭa which they reduced to ashes; and that Baddega, worsted in the battle and unable to offer further resistence, sued for peace. Guṇaga Vijayāditya, who had no desire to drive the defeated prince into desperate opposition, assumed an attitude of conciliation, and appears to have won him over to his side by promising to leave him in the undisturbed possession of his terriroties.[1] Guṇaga Vijayāditya then moved on with his army to Kōsala, where the progress of the march was once again checked by the opposition of the ruler of the country. It is difficult to ascertain the identity of this monarch, as the history of the country during this period is practically unknown. The Sōmavaṁśi kings, who styled themselves as *Kōsal-ādhipatis*, had not yet risen to prominence. The Pāṇḍuvaṁśi kings of Śrīpura, who held sway over Raipur and its neighbourhood, probably ceased to rule. It is not unlikely that he was a member of the Śarabhapura family, which supplanted the Śrīpura line and ruled in Kōsala for a while. He was, in all likelihood the same Kōsalēndra from whom the Haihaya prince, Mugdhatunga Prasiddhadhavaḷa Śankaragaṇa i.e. Sankila, the ally and the

1. JAHRS. xi. p. 80 f.; JTA. iii. p. 407.

brother-in-law of Kṛṣṇa II, is said tohave captured Pāli.[1] Whoever he was, this king of Kōsala was not more successful than the other chiefs who opposed Guṇaga Vijayāditya's advance. He suffered defeat and had to make peace by giving up his war elephants and other valuables.[2]

Guṇaga Vijayāditya reached at last Dāhaḷa, the objective of his expedition. The measures concerted by Sankila to meet the invader, and defend his kingdom are not known. Though no precise information is available about the details of warfare, the movements of the Cāḷukyan army, which seems to have carried fire and sword into the heart of the enemy's country, can be traced with approximate accuracy. Paṇḍaranga, the general of Guṇaga Vijayāditya, according to the Dharmavaram epigraph, entered, at the head of his army, Kiraṇapura, Dāhaḷa, Niruta, Daḷ̈enāḍu, and Acalpura.[3] Of these Kiraṇapura, which has been correctly identified by Dr. Altekar with Kiranpur, a small town in Baleghat district of the Central Provinces, was probably the capital of Sankila.[4] At the time of Paṇḍaranga's attack, Sankila and Kṛṣṇa were both present in the town. They do not, however, seem to have made any attempt to defend it. Frightened

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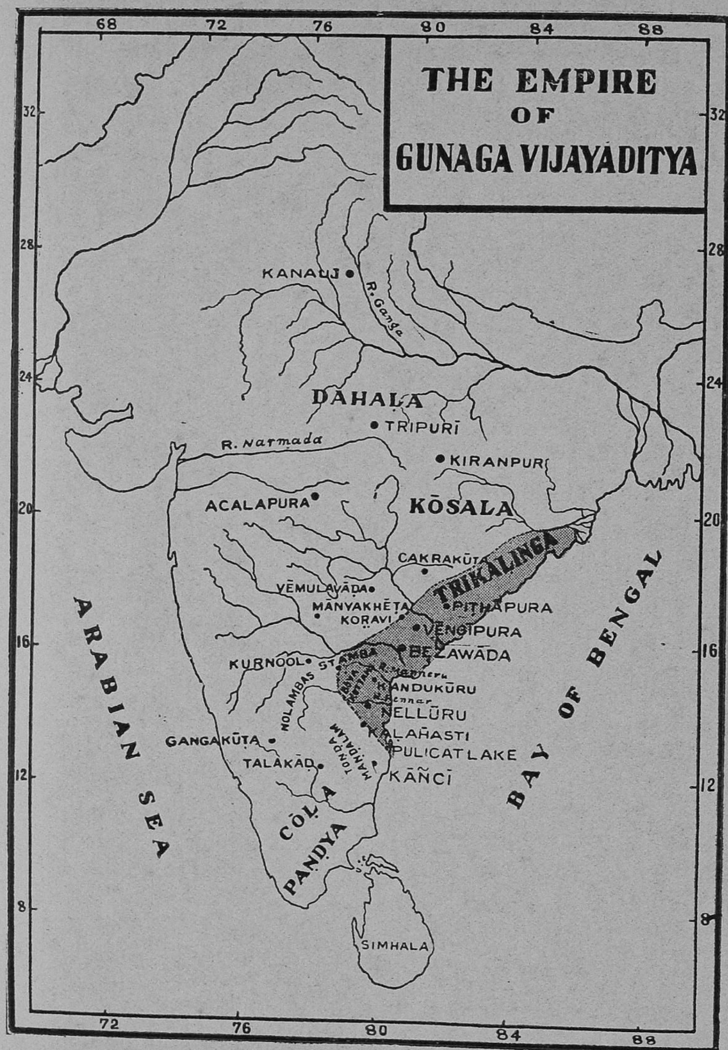
1. Dynastic History of Northern India ii. pp. 757-759, EI. i. p. 256.

2. JTA. xi. p. 241, '*Kōsal=ēśa dvip=ādi ca*'.

3. Bhārati. v i. p. 620.

Kiraṇapuramu-Dahaḷa-Nirutambu-Daḷ̈enāḍun=
Acalapuramu soccen=acalituṇḍu
Vallabhuṇḍu Guṇake-nalluṇḍu-[*vanci*] *nan=*
Baṇḍaranga cūre Paṇḍarangu.

4. Rāṣṭrakūṭas p. 95.


THE EMPIRE
OF
GUNAGA VIJAYADITYA
KANAUJ
R. Ganga
DAHALA
TRIPURI
R. Narmada
KIRANPUR
ACALAPURA
KOSALA
CAKRAKUTA
TRIKALINGA
VEMULAVADA
MANYAKHETA
PITHAPURA
KORAVI
VENGIPURA
BEZAWADA
KURNOOL
STAMBA
KANDUKURU
NELLURU
NOLAMBAS
KALAHASTI
GANGAKUTA
PULICAT LAKE
TALAKAD
TONDA MANDALAM
KANCI
COLA
PANDYA
SIMHALA
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL

by the impetuous advance of the audacious Cāḷukya general, they abandoned the town and fled from it panic stricken.[1] The town, thus abandoned by its ruler and his army, fell easily into the hands of Paṇḍaranga who, to strike terror into the hearts of the foe, set fire to it and reduced it to ashes. The fall of Kiraṇapura was soon followed by an invasion of the enemy's country. Dāhaḷa, Niruta, and Daḷenādu were quickly overrun. Dāhaḷa was, as pointed out already, the home land of the Cēdis. Though the exact situation of the other two is not known, they probably formed part of the Cēdi territory. Paṇḍaranga seems to have moved westward after the conquest of these countries; for, his final victory is placed at Acalapura, the modern Ellichpur in Berar. He captured the city from the enemy and set fire to it.[2]

With the capture of Acalapura, Guṇaga Vijayāditya's war with Kṛṣṇa II came to an end. It was a brilliant military success. The series of victories, which attended his arms during the course of this long campaign, crushed the power of Kṛṣṇa and his allies. He took many trophies the most notable of which were the 'Gangā, the Yamunā, the Sun and the Moon,' the symbols of the insignia of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas as well as the Pālidhvaja, their

1. SII. i. p. 36.

Kṛṣṇam Samkilim=amkit=ākhila-bala-prāpt=ōru sad=vikramō bhīt=ārtān ca vidhāya......

EI. ix. p. 47.

Sad-Dāhaḷ=ādhīśam, Samkilim-ugra-Vallabha-yutam yō bhāyiyitva......

2 JTA. xi. p. 241.

Kiraṇa-puram=Acalapuram=uru-Nellūru-purān vidāha c=aitat,

imperial standard To proclaim his victory over the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, the lord paramount of the Deccan, he assumed the latter's titles and previleges. He called himself the Vallabha and like him he adopted the practice of sounding the five great musical instruments in his train. Guṇaga Vijayāditya, does not however, seem to have entertained any idea of overthrowing the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarchy. It is doubtful whether he would have been successful, had he made an attempt to do so; for, notwithstanding the disasters that had overtaken him in the field, Kṛṣṇa was not entirely powerless. His allies still stood by him, and the great feudatories had yet shown no signs of disloyalty. Guṇaga Vijayāditya was perhaps actuated by a desire to take revenge on the Rāṣṭrakūṭas for the past humiliations, and demonstrate his own military strength. He was eminently successful in attaining his object. So, when Kṛṣṇa offered to submit and acknowledge his supremacy, Guṇaga Vijayāditya welcomed his advances, and treated him with consideration. Guṇaga Vijayāditya must have been greatly flattered by the signal honour done to him by the great Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch, for he gave back to him the territories conquered during the war, and restored to him his royal dignity.[1]

Guṇaga Vijayāditya ruled for three or four years after his return from Dāhaḷa; but they were utterly uneventful. He seems to have been engaged in performing works of religious merit, leaving the administration of the kingdom in the hands of his ministers. He died in A.D. 891 full of years and honour after a long reign of

1. EI. iv. p. 233.

Yō bhaiṣīd=Vallabhēndraṁ-nija-mahima-yutam yō=vyadhāt.

forty-four years. Guṇaga Vijayāditya was the greatest monarch of his line. During his long reign, the Eastern Cāḷukya kingdom reached its widest extent. Though he suffered defeat at the hands of Amōghavarṣa I and had to acknowledge his suzerainty for a while, he not only regained his independence after the death of that monarch, but turned tables on the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and compelled their king to pay homage to him. The prestige of the Eastern Cāḷukya arms reached its highest watermark during his reign, and the 'Caṇḍa-Cāḷukya' was spoken of with awe and respect even by the enemies of his nation.

Guṇaga Vijayāditya had no children. He had a number of brothers, of whom Vikramāditya, Nṛpa-Kāma and Yuddhamalla are mentioned in the inscriptions. He appointed Vikramāditya who is said to have been a great conqueror,[1] as his *yuvarāja*, but this prince predeceased him, leaving a youthful son behind. Of Nṛpa Kāma nothing of interest is known except that he was instrumental in securing the gift of the village of Sāntalūru, the present Sātalūru, as an *agrahāra* for the Brahmans.[2] Of Yuddhamalla nothing is known, except that he was the father of Taḷa I, who later on seized the kingdom and ruled it for a month.

Some of the brahman officers, who served under Guṇaga Vijayāditya, are mentioned in the inscriptions. The most important of them were, of course, Kaḍeyarāja and his great son Paṇḍaranga. Though brahmanas by birth, they chose, like many others of their community, the profession of arms as a means of livelihood. Kaḍeyarāja, a vernacular

1. JTA. xi. p. 254.
2. JAHRS. v. p. 114.

corruption of Kaṭakarāja, was, in fact, the designation of his office and not his personal name. He was a decendant of Bhaṭṭakāla,[1] and rose to the position, as shown by his designation, of the commander of the royal forces. Kaḍeyarāja was a brave soldier and a devoted follower of Guṇaga Vijayāditya. He served his master faithfully for several years, and died at last fighting bravely by his side in one of his wars.[2]

More distinguished than Kaḍeyarāja was his illustrious son, Paṇḍaranga, who appears to have joined the army, while he was yet a youth. He won his spurs in the Bōya war, and served his master ever since with loyal devotion fighting in almost all his wars. Paṇḍaranga was, in fact, the fighting arm of his master, and most of the victories, usually ascribed in the inscriptions to Guṇaga Vijayāditya, were actually won by him. It was he who led the great expedition to Dāhaḷa, overthrew Kṛṣṇa II and his allies in battle and burnt Cakrakūṭa, Kiraṇapura, and Acalapura. Paṇḍaranga was the greatest general of his age, and the fame of his master as a conqueror rested in no small measure on his military genius. On the death of his father, Paṇḍaranga succeeded him as Kaṭakarāja, and figures perhaps in virtue of his office, as the *ājñapti* in most of the gift deeds of the reign. Paṇḍaranga probably survived Guṇaga Vijayāditya, but he does not appear to have taken any interest in public affairs after his master's death.

Besides Kaḍeyarāja and his son, there were other brahman officers in Guṇaga Vijayāditya's army. Vinayaḍi Śarma, who rendered valuable assistance to the king

1. JAHRS v., p. 114.
2. Bhārati v. p. 616.

at a critical moment in the Noḷamba war, as noticed in an earlier context, deserves special mention. He was a learned brahman well versed in the Vēdas and the Vēdāngas, who took to the profession of arms. Divergent views are held by scholars about his position in the army; but taking all relevant facts into consideration, it seems quite reasonable to conclude that he held some important office on the staff of the king.

Another brahman who served in Guṇaga Vijayāditya's army was Rājāditya. He was a descendant of Kumāramūrti, the commander of king Kāḍuveṭṭi of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, who having quarrelled with his master migrated to Vēngī and settled down in the village of Undi. Rājāditya was a valiant soldier and rendered valuable assistance to Guṇaga Vijayāditya on the field of battle, and received from him in recognition of his services the gift of the village of Kāṭlapaṟṟu as a tax-free *agrahāra*[1]

1. STVN. High School Annual for 1939-40 pp. 29-31.

CHAPTER X

CĀḶUKYA BHĪMA I VIṢṆUVARDHANA VI

A.D. 892—922.

On the death of Guṇaga Vijayāditya, Cāḷukya Bhīma I, his nephew, the son of his younger brother Yuvarāja Vikramāditya, ascended the throne. His succession does not, however, appear to have been peaceful. Though the available evidence on the subject is not quite unanimous, he seems to have been obliged, even before the performance of his *paṭṭabandha* ceremony, to defend his kingdom from the attacks of the enemies, both external and internal. In the Paṇḍipāka Grant, it is stated that Bhīma, vanquished the army of the Raṭṭas who obviously invaded the kingdom, and then performed the *paṭṭabandha*.[1] According to the Koṟavi epigraph Kusumāyudha of the Raṇamadda family, evidently an Eastern Cāḷukya feudatory, defeated Kannara Ballaha in battle; wrested from him the goddess of sovereignty of the Raṇamrddakas, who had fallen into his hands; restored her to Cāḷukya Bhīma known as Sauca-Kandarpa, the king of Vēngī and the son of Vikramāditya; and having invested him with the necklace (*kaṇṭhikā*) fastened on his forehead the fillet of royalty.[2] This is partially corroborated by the evidence of Ederu Plates of Amma I, in which

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1. JTA. xi. p. 257.
Sō=yam Raṭṭa-balam vijitya ripu-nirmūlam sam-unmīlayan badhvā paṭṭam-abhūd=dhanēśa-sadṛśo-bhūmau pariś śāśvatam.

2. Telingana Inscriptions, *Itara*; No. 12.

it is said that, on the death of Guṇaga Vijayāditya, Vēngī-maṇḍala was surrounded by the armies of his *dāyādas* (agnates) and the Raṭṭas like the dense darkness after the setting of the Sun, and that Cāḷukya Bhīma, surnamed Drōhārjuna, the son of his younger brother Vikramāditya, shining by the lustre of his flashing sword which was aided solely by his prowess, became king.[1] It follows from these that, on the death of Guṇaga Vijayāditya, the Raṭṭa king, Kannara Ballaha probably at the instance of the *dāyādas* of Cāḷukya Bhīma I, invaded Vēngī, and having made common cause with them occupied certain parts of the kingdom, specially Mancikoṇḍa-nāḍu and its neighbourhood and that it was after expelling them from the country Bhīma found it possible to perform his *paṭṭabandha*. This is, however, contradicted by other inscriptions. The Bezwada Plates, which the king is said to have issued on his coronation day by the request of Kusumāyudha, who freed the kingdom, according to the Koṟavi inscription noticed above, from the Raṭṭas and performed the *paṭṭabandha*, refer curiously enough neither to the Raṭṭa invasion, nor to the rising of the *dāyādas.*[2] It is hardly intelligible why the author of

1. SII. i. p. 36.

Tad-anu Savitary=astangatē timira-paṭaḷēn=ēva Raṭṭa-dāyāda-balēn=ābhivyāptam Vēngī-maṇḍalam tad=anuja Vikramāditya-sūnus-Cāḷukya-Bhīm=ādhipo Drōhārjjun=āpara-nāmā sva-vikram = aika-sahāya-taravāri-prabhay=āvabhāsy-Ādhipatir=abhūt.

2. EI. v. p. 217.

Śrīman kīrtti-śaśānka-raśmi-viśadībhūt=ākhil=āśāvani
Vyōma Śrī Kusumāyudhēna guṇinā vidvaj-jan=ānandanaḥ
Vīrō=san nija-paṭṭabandha-samayē santuṣṭavān=śāśvatam
Grāmam Srī Jayadhāma Bhīma nṛpatis-samprārthitō-dattavān.

the *praśasti* omitted such an important achievement of the king as the expulsion of the Raṭṭas and the *dāyādas*, had it actually taken place before the *paṭṭabandha* ceremony. The Attili Grant reverses, as a matter of fact, the order in describing the events of the reign. The performance of the *paṭṭabandha*, on Monday, Caitra, ba. 2, Śaka 814, corresponding to 17th April A.D. 892, is mentioned first, and the defeat and expulsion of Kṛṣṇa Vallabha's fourfold army next.[1] The conflicting evidence of the inscriptions precludes the possibility of arriving at any definite conclusion. Probably more than one Raṭṭa invasion disturbed the peace of the kingdom during the reign; and the earliest of them which came immediately after the death of the late monarch is, for some unknown reason, passed over in silence in some of the inscriptions. The reign of Cāḷukya Bhīma, contrary to the opinion held in certain quarters,[2] appears to have been a period of continuous

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1. JTA. xi. p. 254.

Śākēṣv-abdēṣu yātēṣ=vatha manu-vasu-samprāpta-saṁkhyēṣu mēṣē
Mitrē caitrē ca maitrē śaśini śaśi dinē Kṛṣṇa-pakṣa-dvitīyē
Yugmarkṣasyōdgamēdhat = sakala-jana-mudē paṭṭa= ācandratāram
Śrīman Cāḷukya Bhīmas=catur=udadhi-lasan-mēkhal=ēlā-talasya

Atha ca,—
Yasya Khaḍga-jala-vārdhi-nimagnam
Kṛṣṇa-Vallabha-balam sa sapatnam.

2. ARE. 1909, Part ii, Para 59. p.106. Commenting on the Kasimkōṭa Plates, Krishna Sastri observes, 'From the new plates, of Mr. Appa Rao's collection, we gather that, in his (Cāḷukya Bhīma's) reign, there was perfect peace all over the country, and that perhaps to secure this end he conquered on a battle-field the combined forces of his enemies.'

warfare. Cāḷukya Bhīma I, if the evidence of the Piṭhāpuram inscription of Mallappadēva can be relied upon, had to fight no less than three hundred and sixty battles during the period of his rule of thirty years.[1] It is hardly possible that during the short interval that elapsed between his uncle's death, and his own coronation Cāḷukya Bhīma I should have fought, as suggested by some, all these battles.[2] Traces perhaps of two Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasions are descernible clearly in the inscriptions. The earliest of them, of course, came immediately after the death of Guṇaga Vijayāditya. The Raṭṭa forces were probably joined by the *dāyādas* of the king, specially by his paternal uncle Yuddhamalla, who laid claims to the throne and questioned Cāḷukya Bhima's right to rule the kingdom. The invasion does not seem to have penetrated into the interior of the kingdom. It was most probably confined to the western districts along the Rāṣṭrakūṭa frontier. The Koravi record, it may be remembered, states explicitly that it was only the *rājya-śrī* of the Raṇamarda family, which fell into the hands of Kannara Ballaha, and which Kusumāyudha having wrested from him restored to Cāḷukya Bhīma I. Raṇamarda, who is referred to in this record was a chief of unknown origin, who appears to have ruled in the eastern districts of Telingana in the first half of the 9th century A.D. He probably had no male issue, and on his death, his territories passed into the possession of Kokkirāja, the founder of Mudigoṇḍa

1. EI. iv. No. 33 p. 234.

Ṣaṣty=uttaram yas=tri-śatam raṇānām
jitvā sva nāmnā prathitam vidhāya
Cāḷukya Bhīmēśvara dēva-harmyam
trimśat=samā bhūtalam=anv=arakṣat.

2. M. S. Sarma: *Vēngī Cāḷukyulu* p. 48.

Cāḷukya family who married his daughter. Kusumāyudha, a descendant of this pair, thus became the heir of Raṇamarda's territories, which extended northwards from Koṇḍapalli on the bank of the Kṛṣṇā to Koravi in the Warangal district of the Hyderabad State.[2] It was obviously this region which Kannara Ballaha had conquered on Guṇaga Vijayāditya's death. The course of events which happened during this war cannot, of course, be traced owing to the lack of the necessary material. Certain facts, however, stand out clearly. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas were successful at first. They rapidly overran the Raṇamarda possessions, which they seem to have occupied without much difficulty. An important event which probably occured during the course of this war must be noted here. Cāḷukya Bhīma I, if we may trust the records of the Lēmulavāḍa chiefs, fell into the hands of the enemy in some unspecified battle, in which he sustained a defeat at the hands of Baddega. Pampa states, in his account of the Lēmulavāḍa family that Baddega, the grandfather of his patron, Arikēsari II, seized, as if seizing a crocodile in water, Bhīma and won fame as a great warrior. The same statement is repeated in the Parbhani Plates of Arikēsari III. The simile '*mosaḷeyam piḍiv-antire nīr=oḷōtti*' and its Sanskrit equivalent

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2. I.A. xxxii. p. 281 f.

Mancikoṇḍa-viṣayam=manōharam
Koṇḍapallim-atha ca kram-āgatas=
Tatra tatra nava-śāsanīkṛtam
Grāma-sampadam-ath-ānubhuktavān.

The situation of Koṇḍapalli is very well known. Though Mancikoṇḍa cannot yet be definitely located, it must have stood somewhere in the Warangal district, for Koravi, which is

'*agrahīt ugram grāham=iv-āntar-ambu*' employed in this context, clearly suggest that the battle, in which Bhīma sustained defeat and was taken prisoner, was fought in his own kingdom.[1] Bhīma referred to in Pampa's *Vikramarjuna Vijaya* and the Parabhani Plates is, no doubt, Cāḷukya Bhīma I. As Baddega suffered defeat at the hands of Cāḷukya Bhīma's uncle and predecessor, Guṇaga Vijayāditya in the Dāhaḷa campaign, there can be no doubt that they were contemporaries. Baddega was, as noticed already, a faithful feudatory of Kṛṣṇa II; and as his estates lay immediately to the north of the Raṇamarda territory, it is natural that he should have accompanied the expedition, and played an important part in conducting the operations. The success of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas was, however, shortlived. Kusumāyudha, the ruler of the Raṇamarda country which the Rāṣṭrakūṭas conquered, quickly rallied round his forces, and with the help probably of Cāḷukya Bhīma's loyal supporters inflicted a crushing defeat on them and chased them back to their own country.[1] Taking advantage of the confusion that was prevailing in the enemy's camp, Cāḷukya Bhīma

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situated in this district, is said to have been one of the boundaries of Mogalucheṟuvala included in the Mancikoṇḍa-viṣaya, the village gifted away to Dōṇeya Śarma as an *agrahāra* by Kusumāyudha IV.

1. *Vikramarjuna Vijaya* 1 : 26.

'*Mosaḷeyam piḍiv=antire nīr-oḷotti Bhīmanan=ati-garvadim piḍiye.*,

Cf. Sources of the Medieval History of Deccan II. p. 48.

Bhīmam bhīma-parākram-aika-nilayam tam hēlay=aiv-āgrahīt Ugram grāham=iv=āntar-ambu samarē dōr-virkamād-Baddegaḥ.

perhaps effected his escape from captivity at this juncture and joined his friends.

The Coronation of Cāḷukya Bhīma I. Vēngī was now freed from her enemies. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who came in the hope of profiting themselves by the internal dissensions in the kingdom were defeated and driven back; and the *dāyādas*, who wanted to supplant the young king and usurp his throne with the help of their foreign allies, were thoroughly discomfited. Cāḷukya Bhīma I, who was now firmly established in his ancestral kingdom, celebrated his coronation on Monday, Caitra, ba. 2, Saka, 814, and assumed the name of Viṣṇuvardhana, being the sixth king of his line to bear it. To show his gratitude to his followers, specially to Kusumāyudha to whom he owed his throne more than any one else, he conferred on him the government of half of his kingdom, and granted in addition the village of Kūkipaṟṟu in the Uttara-Kaṇḍēruvāṭi Viṣaya, at his instance, to the Brahman Potannayya as an *agrahāra* free from all taxes.[2]

The Second Rāṣṭrakūṭa Invasion: Cāḷukya Bhīma was not allowed to rule long undisturbed. Though foiled in their first attempt to overthrow his authority, his enemies did not give up hope. His *dayādas* never ceased to plot against him in secret; and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were ever ready to pounce upon his kingdom whenever circumstances seemed to favour their designs. When at last the

1. Telingana Inscriptions. *Itara*, No. 12.

2. EI. v. p. 129......*Śrī Kusumāyudhēna guṇinā ......nija-paṭṭabandha-samayē grāmamŚrī Jay-dhāma Bhīma-nṛpatis-samprārthitō dattavān.*

internal conditions of Vēngī appeared propitious, Kṛṣṇa II launched a fresh attack and sent a large army, accompanied by forces from Karṇāṭa and Lāṭa to invade the country.[1] Led by the intrepid general, Guṇḍaya, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army penetrated into the heart of the Eastern Cāḷukya dominions, and reached the outskirts of the capital, Vēngī. Two notable engagements, one at Niravadyapura and the other at Peruvangūrugrāma, took place in the neighbourhood of the city.[2] The Cāḷukya army, under the command of the king's valiant son Irimartigaṇḍa, a lad of 16 years, opposed them and offered stout resistance. He put to flight on the battlefield of Niravadyapura, the fierce Vallabha army consisting of elephants, horses and irresistable archers. At Peruvangūru, he put to death the Vallabha general, Guṇḍaya, and scattered the forces of Lāṭas, and of the king's *dāyādas*, who treacherously joined the invaders. Though the valiant prince freed his country from

1. ARE. 1 of 1913-14.

Yasya-khaḍga-jala-vārdhi-nimagnam
Kṛṣṇa Vallabha-balam sa sa-patnam
mṛṇmayantu catur-anga balam vā
kṣipram=ēva vilayam gatam=ājau.

Tigm=āmśōr=amsu-jālair-Udayagiri-juṣōvyāpta-lōkās-tamisrā
yadṛ-āditya-prasāda-dvirada-vara-guru-skandha-bhāsvat-svamūrtēḥ-
yasy-ēṣv-āsa pramuktair -iṣubhir-abhihata - pṛṣṭha-pṛṣṭha-vijadhāvan
Karnāṭā dur-ddurūṭā ruṭiti patunaṭad-ghōṭakā-Lāṭakās-ca.

2. These places have been identified by M. Somasekhara Sarma with Niḍadavōlu and Pedavangūru respectively in the West Godavari district (*Vēngī Cāḷukyulu* pp. 50-51).

the enemies, he did not survive his brilliant victory. He was wounded on the battle field of Peruvangūru; he departed, as his disconsolate father pathetically remarks, to the world of gods, leaving only his fame to survive him on earth.[1] The remaining years of the reign of Cāḷukya Bhīma I appear to have passed in peace. The tranquillity of the kingdom was not disturbed after the victories over the Rāṣṭrakūṭas at Niravadyapura and Peruvangūru either by internal dissensions or foreign invasions. The security of the realm being thus established, Cāḷukya Bhīma I found time to attend to the administration of the kingdom, and the promotion of the welfare of his subjects. During the later years of his life, inspired by his zeal for religion, he took to temple building. Two great temples in the Āndhra country are specially associated with his name. He built a shrine at Cāḷukya-Bhīmavaram near Sāmarlakōṭa, in the East Godavari district and dedicated to his favourite God Śiva, whom he called

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1. ARE. 1914 Part II, para 6.

"......*Mama priy-ātmajō-ṣōḍasa-vārṣikaḥ, yas=tu*
Āhladanēn=Endum-Ajam kalābhiḥ
tyāgēna Karṇam-Manum-ātma=vṛtyā
rupēṇa kāmam yamam=āji śaktyā
jīvandhay-ārkam=mahas=āti sēte, [*ḍam*
Niravadyapura-raṇe kari-turaga-dhanurddurdhar=ōgra-Vallabha-daṇ-
āruhya gajapatim-mṛga-patir=iva hariṇān-vikīryya vihasannaghasat.
Peruvangūr grāma-raṇe Vallabha-daṇḍēna Guṇḍay-ākhyamhatvā
nirlūṭya ca dayādān = avanīm=aśeṣān-nir =ākulām-mahyam=adāt
Dattv-ārthibhyō dhanam kāmam matyā dhātrim bhyam-dviṣām
nikṣipya dikṣu sat=kīrtiḥ nāka-lōkam-agād asau.

Cāḷukya Bhīmēśvara.[1] The temple is still in a fairly good state of preservation, and is said to contain some fine sculptures and carved pillars of granite, characteristic of the Eastern Cāḷukya art. More famous than this is another temple, also dedicated to Śiva named Bhīmēśvara after the king, which he is said to have built at Drākṣārāmam on the bank of the Gōdāvarī[2] Although the name of the temple and its antiquity are in support of the belief, there is no clear proof that Cāḷukya Bhīma I had actually built it. Stimulated by the royal example, some of the nobles seem to have interested themselves in building activity. A certain Caṭṭapa, one of his feudatories, for instance, founded in the 17th year of the reign (A.D. 909) a shrine to Pārthīśvara on the Indrakīla hill at Bezwada, 'through the favour of Viṣṇuvardhana, son of Vikramāditya' i.e., Cāḷukya Bhīma I.[3] The interest of Cāḷukya Bhīma was not confined only to temple architecture. He evinced considerable interest in the fine arts. The Attili Grant of the king, in fact, registers the gift of some tax-free land in the village to a courtesan called Callava, for her proficiency in *samasta gāndharva vidyā* i.e., the entire realm of music.[4] Callava seems to have inherited her musical talent from her father, Mallappa, who is said to have been the very Tumburu among musicians. Bhaṭṭa Vāmana, believed by some to be identical with the author of *Kavyālaṁkāra Sūtras*, also flourished in his

1. EI. iv. p. 240.
2. JTA. xi p. 251.
   Rājarājanarēndra Paṭṭābhiṣēka Samcika, p. 9.
3. ARE. 833 of 1917, JTA. vii. p. 227.
4. JTA. xi. p. 255.

court.[1] Vāmana, who is referred to as Kavi Vṛṣabha, figures in some of the records of the king as the composer of his *praśasti*.[2]

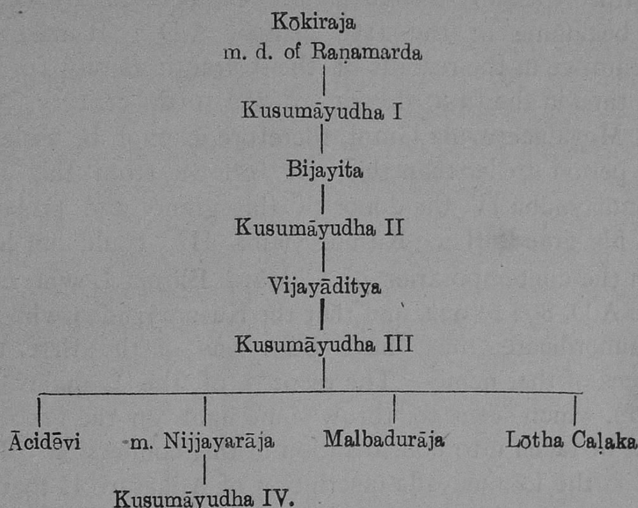
Cāḷukya Bhīma's family: Cāḷukya Bhīma had three sons. The eldest, Irimarti Gaṇḍa, who is only known by this title, predeceased his father. He was a prince of great promise, whose brilliant career was cut short, as noticed already, on the battle-field of Peruvangūru, during the second Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion. Of the activities of his other two sons, Vijayāditya surnamed Kollabhigaṇḍa, and Vikramāditya nothing is known. They must have been in their early teens at the time of the death of their elder brother, and probably they did not play any part in the affairs of the kingdom during their father's time.

Cāḷukya Bhīma had a foster mother called Nāgi Pōti, who suckled him along with her daughter, Gaukāmbā, whom he appears to have cherished fondly. She had a son called Mahākāla, who was devoted to the service of the king. He became 'a general of king Bhīma.' In battle, where fire is produced by the clashing together of the opponents' arms, going before his master this brave one more than once had annihilated the enemy's army.[3]

Feudatories: Of the feudatories, who distinguished themselves in the service of Cāḷukya Bhīma I, the names of only a few have been handed down to us in the inscriptions. The most important of them was, of course, Kusumāyudha, the ruler of the Raṇamarda territories. He was, as pointed out already, a descendant of the Kōkirāja, the founder of Mudugōṇḍa Cāḷukya family and the unnamed daughter of Raṇamarda whom he married.

1. K. V. Laksmana Rao, Ibid.
2. Ibid. ARE. Cp. No. 1 of 1913-14.
3. EI. v. p. 134,

It is not, however, possible to establish definitely from the scanty information furnished by the epigraph at Koṟavi the identity of Kusumāyudha. The Mogaluceṟuvu Grant, it may be noted, mentions no less than four princes of the family bearing the name of Kusumāyudha.



It is not easy to find out which of these four was the subordinate of Cāḷukya Bhīma I. However, a few facts which are helpful in solving the problem may be noted here with advantage Though the Mogaluceṟuvu Grant is not dated, the probable period to which it belongs can be determined with tolerable certainty. It has been assigned on paleographical grounds by Bendall to 'the eleventh century or later'.[1] Another fact which supports this opinion must be mentioned here. Kōkirāja, the founder of the family, it is said, bore the insignia of

1. IA. xxxii. p. 281.

royalty pertaining to the throne of Ayōdhyā.[1] The reference to the insignia of the royalty of the kingdom of Ayōdhyā in this record gives a clear indication of the age to which it belongs. The kingdom of Ayōdhyā, it must be pointed out, is not associated either in inscriptions or literature with any branch of the Cāḷukya family before the beginning of the 11th century A.D.[2] It makes its appearance in the records of the Cāḷukya family for the first time in the first decade of the 11th century A.D. The Mogaluceṟuvula Grant, therefore, cannot be assigned to a period earlier than this. It follows from this that Kusumāyudha IV, the donor of this grant and probably also his grandfather, Kusumāyudha III, could not have been the contemporaries of Cāḷukya Bhīma I, who ruled from A.D. 892 to 922, and that the Kusumāyudha, who was his subordinate, must have been one of the first two princes of that name. The records of the Lēmulavāḍa-chiefs, which seem to throw some light on the problem, must be taken into consideration in this connection. It is said in the Lēmulavāḍa inscription of Arikēsari II that he offered protection to a certain Bijja and saved him from

1. Ibid. p. 282. *Ayōdhyā-simhāsana rājya-cihnaḥ parair=*
ayōdhyō vijigīṣur-ādhyah bhrātrā-hy-arakṣan=
nikhilān-dharitrīn=niṣkanṭakīkṛtya sa Kōkirājaḥ.

2. Though Ayōdhā is not referred to in the early records of the Cāḷukya family, the Solar race, of which it was the traditional capital, is mentioned in the Parabhaṇi Plates of Arikēsari III. In fact, the Cāḷukyas are spoken of in this record as the descendants of the Sun God.

"*Asty-Āditya-bhavō vaṁśaḥ Cāḷukya iti viśrutaḥ.*"

—The Sources of the Medieval History of Deccan ii. p. 48.

the wrath of Gōvindarāja.[1] Pampa, in his *Vikramārjuna Vijayam* gives more interesting information. Bijja, whom he refers to by his full name as Vijayāditya, was a prince of the Cāḷukya family; and Gōvindarāja, spoken of as Gojjiga in one place, was the 'universal emperor'.[2] Though Gōvindarāja or Gojjiga has been correctly identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda IV, considerable uncertainty prevails about the identity of his enemy, Bijja or Vijayāditya of the Cāḷukya family. The equation of this prince with Vijayāditya IV Kollabhigaṇḍa, the son and successor of Cāḷukya Bhīma I, originally suggested by Fleet, and accepted still by some, for want of a better, is utterly untenable. The usual objection that a war could not have probably arisen between Gōvinda IV and Vijayāditya IV, during the short period of six months of the latter's rule, is not perhaps quite serious. The real objection to this identification is that Vijayāditya was dead long

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1. Telingana Inscriptions *Itara* No. 21.

Sāmantān daṇḍa-mukhyān-nija-bhuja-parigha-pras-phurad=khaḍga dhārā

nīr-āmbhō rāśi-magnām sturaga-karighaṭā-patti sampatti-yuktān,

kṛtvā paḷy-āryyam=āryyam svajana parijanaiḥ sannihaty=ājirangē-

kruddhē Gōvindarājē śaraṇam-upagatō-rakṣitō yēna Bijjaḥ.

2. *Vikramarjuna Vijayam.* 11 (Prose passage between stanzas 52 and 53.

'*Cāḷukya-kula-tilakan=appa Vijayādityange Gōvindarājam muḷiye taḷarade peray=ikki kāda śaraṇ=āgata-jaladhiya pempumam.*"

Again, in Canto 14 (prose passage between stanzas 37 and 38),

"*Gojjigan-emba Sakala Cakravarti muḷiye tanage śaraṇ-āgatan āda Vijayādityanam kāda ballāḷ=tanadoḷ-śaraṇ=āgata-jalanidhiyum......*

before the time, when the action contemplated in the passages from Pampa's *Vikramārjuna Vijayam* and the Lēmulavāḍa inscription cited above had taken place. It may be remembered that Cāḷukya Bhīma I, who ascended the throne in A.D. 892, died after a rule of thirty years in A.D. 922; and Vijayāditya IV who succeeded him ruled, as stated above, only for six months. His death must have taken place either in the same year or early in the next. Gōvinda IV did not come to the throne until A.D. 930. The Dandapur epigraph dated A.D. 918, it is true, was set up, while Prabhūtavarṣa was protecting the broad circuit of the earth;[1] but there is nothing to show in the record that he was the ruling sovereign at the time. He is introduced simply as Prabhūtavarṣa without the titles usually associated with the names of sovereign rulers. Taken by itself, the omission of the sovereign titles does not perhaps constitute a positive disproof of the assumption that Gōvinda IV was the ruling sovereign at the time; but the discovery of a series of inscriptions of his father, Indra III, with dates ranging from 918 to 927 A.D., and the total absence of his own records during the interval lend a new significance to it, and indicate clearly that he was not the sovereign but a prince holding a subordinate position in the government of the kingdom. This is corroborated by the evidence of the Cambay Plates in which it is stated explicitly that Gōvinda IV has celebrated his *paṭṭabandha* or coronation ceremony on the 10th May A.D. 930.[2] It is highly improbable that Gōvinda IV would have waited for eleven long years to perform his *paṭṭabandha* ceremony, if he had come to the throne as early as A.D. 918. The

1. IA. xii. pp. 222.
2. EI. vii. p. 28.

coronation, as a matter of fact, must have immediately followed his accession; and the commencement of his reign, therefore, must be placed not in A.D. 918, but twelve years later in A.D. 930. Now, the conflict between the Cāḷukya prince, Vijayāditya, and Gōvinda IV, alluded to in the records of the Lēmulavāḍa chiefs, took place after the coronation of the latter, as shown by Pampa's pointed reference to him as *Sakala-Cakravarti*. Therefore, the Cāḷukya Vijayāditya, who incurred his displeasure could not have been the Eastern Cāḷukya Vijayāditya IV Kollabhigaṇḍa. He was, in fact, identical with Vijayāditya, the son of Kusumāyudha of the Mudugoṇḍa Cāḷukya family, though it is not easy to decide which of the two princes of that name mentioned in the Mogaluceṟuvala Grant that roused the wrath of Gōvinda IV, and sought the protection of Arikēsari II. The Lēmulavāḍa inscription seems to offer, a clue, which, if true, may lead to a correct solution of the problem. The inscription, it may be recalled, does not, like Pampa, refer to the chief, who sought the protection of Arikēsari to escape from the wrath of Gōvinda IV, as Vijayāditya but Bijja which was an abbreviation of the name then in common use. The Mogaluceṟuvula Grant mentions similarly a chief called Bijayita, another common abbreviation of the same name. It is not unlikely that Bijja of the Lēmulavāḍa inscription and Bijayita of the Mogaluceṟuvula Grant are one and the same person. If the identification suggested here is acceptable, then the Caḷukya chief Vijayāditya, the ally of Arikēsari II and the enemy of Gōvinda IV, is none other than Bijayita the son of Kusumāyudha I of the Mudugoṇḍa Cāḷukya family. As

Bijayita was a contemporary of Gōvinda IV, who ruled from A.D. 930 to A.D. 935, his father Kusumāyudha I must have lived earlier. It may, therefore, be concluded that Kusumāyudha, who is mentioned in the Bezwada Plates and the Koṛavi record as a subordinate of Cāḷukya Bhīma I, must have been Kusumāyudha I, the son of Kōkiraja, the founder of the Mudugoṇḍa Cāḷukya family.

Another feudatory of Cāḷukya Bhīma I was a certain Caṭṭapa, who is mentioned in an inscription on the Indrakīla Hill at Bezwada dated in the 17th year of the reign (A.D. 909) of the king. Nothing is known about the achievements of this chief except that he built through the favour of the king a shrine dedicated to God Śiva called Pārthīśvara.[1] Ayyaparāja, surnamed Nanni-nallāta, and his younger brother Bejayarāja are referred to in the Dharmavaram inscription. These two appear to have been related to Paṇḍaranga, though it is not possible, owing to the damaged condition of the epigraph, to ascertain the nature of the relationship.[2] Two other officers of the king, both brahmans by birth, appear to have played an important part in the wars of the king. One of them Kaḍeyarāja, a grandson of the famous Paṇḍaranga, was the commander of the royal forces.[3] He figures in almost all the gift deeds of the king as the *ajñapti* or the executor. The other was Rangādhikakkara, a *brahmacārin*

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1. ARE. 833 of 1917, JTA. vii. p. 227.

2. Bhārati vi. p. 620.

3. EI. v. p. 132.

Ājnaptir=asya dharmasya Kaḍeyarāja pratāpavān

pitāmahō=bhavad=yasya Paṇḍarangah parantapaḥ.

of Kauṇḍinya gotra, son of Vidiśarman and a grandson of Sabbiśarman. He appears to have rendered most valuable service to Cāḷukya Bhīma I in one of the battles against his enemies, and received from him as a reward the gift the village of Paṇḍipāka together with its eighteen hamlets.[1]

1. JTA. xi. pp. 257.

" *Asmat=khaḍga-sahāya-nimitte......Paṇḍipākagrāma S=āṣṭādaśa-grām=ādhikaḥ......sampradattā.*

CHAPTER XI

VIJAYĀDITYA IV KOLLABHIGAṆḌA

(A. D. 922).

On the death of Cāḷukya Bhīma I in A.D. 922, his eldest surviving son, Vijayāditya IV surnamed Kollabhigaṇḍa or the slayer of the heroes who opposed him ascended the throne. He had other titles besides. He is referred to in the inscriptions as Kollabhigaṇḍa Bhāskara[1], Kaliyartyaṅka[2], and Kaliyartigaṇḍa,[3] which lay emphasis on his martial qualities No record of his reign has yet come to light. It is doubtful whether he had left any records behind, owing to the short duration of his reign which lasted only for a brief period of six months.[4] One important event, however, is invariably associated with his name in the records of his successors. He is said to have won a victory at a place called Virajā, where he erected a *jayastambha* in commemoration of the event.[5] The victory at Virajā, in the opinion of some scholars, was won by Vijayāditya IV, not during his own reign, but in one of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasions which disturbed the peace of the kingdom in the time of his father.[6] This is utterly untenable; for, it is clearly stated that the event had taken place in the reign of Vijayāditya during the course

1. IA. xiii. p. 248.
2. SII i. p. 36, IA. xiii. p. 50.
3. Sewells List ii. p. 13, No. 84.
4. In one record (cp. 10 of 1916-17), he is said to have ruled for six years; but this is an exception.
5. IA. xiii. p. 213-14.
6. *Vēngī Cāḷukyulu* p. 50.

of an expedition, which he took against Kaḷinga.[1] Why Vijayāditya IV was obliged to lead an army into Kaḷinga immediately after his accession to the throne, it is not possible to ascertain. The Eastern Gangas probably became restive, and had to be kept under control. The activities of Vajrahasta, the son of Guṇārṇava or Guṇamahārṇava, who must have been ruling about this time probably called for a demonstration of military strength. At the time of Vajrahasta's accession, Kaḷinga was divided into five principalities, each of which was governed by an independent chief. It was the ambition of Vajrahasta to bring all these principalities under a single authority, and create the united kingdom of Kaḷinga.[2] This naturally clashed with the interests of the Eastern Cāḷukyas, whose sway was recognised over a large part of the country. The Cāḷukyas probably lost their hold over the bulk of Kaḷinga either during the last years of Cāḷukya Bhīma I or immediately after his death. Guṇaga Vijayāditya, it may be recalled, reduced to subjection the entire land of Kaḷinga, and became the lord of Trikaḷinga country.[3] Cāḷukya Bhīma I

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1. IA. xiii. pp. 213-14.
Tat-putras-tad-anantarēṇa Vijayādityō vijity-āhavē
svēn=aikēna gajēna vāraṇa ghaṭ=ārūḍhān-Kaḷing-adhipān-
āruhy-ōjjvala-hēma-kalpita-tulā-kōṭim vadānyō jaya
stambham kīrttimayam-nidhāya-Virajē ṣaṇ-māsam-āsēn-nṛpaḥ.

2. EI. iv. p. 189.
Pūrvvam bhūpatibhir-vvibhājya vasudhā yā pancabhiḥ pancadhā
bhuktvā bhūri-parākramō bhuja-balāt-tām-ēka ēva svayam,
ekīkṛtya vijitya śatru-nivahān Śrī Vajrahastas-catus-
catvārimśatam=aty-udāra-caritaḥ sarvvām-arakṣat-samaḥ.

3. Bhārati I No. 1. p. 104.
"*Dakṣiṇāpatha sa-Trikaḷingadēśam-anv-apālayat.*"

succeeded, notwithstanding his pre-occupation with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa wars, in keeping his hold over a large part of his uncle's Trikaḷinga conquest, if not the whole of it. The gift of the village of Tini (Tuni ?) situated in the Dēvarāṣṭra of the Elamancili Kaḷingadēśa shows definitely that his authority was recognised in the Madhya or the Central Kaḷinga.[1] Vijayāditya IV is said to have ruled only over the Trikaḷing-āṭavī or the forest tracts belonging to Trikaḷinga in addition to his ancestral kingdom of Vēngī,[2] This indicates clearly that Vijayāditya IV was ejected from the whole of Kaḷinga with the exception of the forest tracts attached to it. It was probably to reestablish his supremacy over that country that he led an expedition to Kaḷinga. Although Vijayāditya is generally credited to have won a victory at Virajā, the expedition appears to have ended actually in a disaster. The Inangaṟu Grant of Rājarāja II, no doubt, a late document of the Coḷa-Cāḷukya period, states that Vijayāditya captured the city named Virajā and departed to the world of the Gods.[3] This is not unlikely; for his death in the expedition accounts for in a satisfactory manner the extreme short duration of Vijayāditya's reign. The Trikaḷing-āṭavī country was probably lost to the Cāḷukyas,

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1. Cp. 14 of 1908-9.

2. EI. v. p. 133.

Tat-sunur- vVijayāditya ṣan-māsān-Vēngī-maṇḍalam Trikaḷing-āṭavī-yuktam paripālya divam yayau.

3. Cp. 23 of 1916-17.

Tat-sūnur-vVijayādityō-nāma māsa-ṣaṭkam-atha paripālya Virajā nāma-purīm vijitya tridivam-agama.

Cf. ARE. 1917, Part II, para 26.

as a consequence of their defeat and the death of their leader in the battle at Virajā; and Vajrahasta II made himself the master of the entire Trikaḷinga country without much trouble.

The collapse of the Cāḷukyas at Virajā was not perhaps due so much to strength of the enemy as to the outbreak of a rebellion in their country and the defection of a part, if not the whole, of their army. Two important facts, not usually noticed in this connection, must be taken into consideration here. First, the Nūtimaḍugu, Plates of Vikramāditya II, the younger brother of Vijayāditya IV, assert that he took the kingdom from his enemies after fighting with them one hundred battles for eight years.[1] As Vikramāditya II came to the throne in A.D. 929-30, he must have begun his fight for the kingdom eight years earlier in A.D. 921-22, when his elder brother was still ruling the kingdom.[2] It is obvious that

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1. EI. xxv. pp. 191 f.
   Vikram-aika sahāyō-aṣṭān yuddhvā yuddha śatām samaḥ......
   rājyam yaḥ kīrttyā samam-agrahīt.
2. Cāḷukya Bhīma I, who ascended the throne in A.D. 892, ruled for thirty years until A.D. 921-2; after him came Vijayāditya IV who ruled for six months; he was succeeded by Amma I who reigned for seven years; after him his son Vijayāditya V, whose reign lasted for a fortnight; and he was followed by Tāḷa I, who held the sovereignty for one month. After these four kings ruled in aggregate for a period of seven years seven months and fifteen days subsequent to the time of Cāḷukya Bhīma's death, Vikramāditya II ascended the throne. This would place the accession of Vikramāditya in (921-2 plus 7-7-15) A.D. 929-30.

Vikramāditya II rose in rebellion against his brother, while he was engaged in a war with Kaḷinga. Second, the Ēdēṟu Plates of Amma I, which give a brief account of the political condition of Vēngī at the time of his accession allude to the desertion of the army of his father and grandfather and their alliance with his rebellious 'feudatory relatives'.[1] The evidence of these two inscriptions make it quite clear that Vikramāditya II rose in revolt against his brother Vijayāditya IV, and seduced a part of the army thereby precipitating his downfall.

Vijayāditya's family: Two queens of Vijayāditya, Pallava Mahādēvī and Mēḷāmbā are mentioned in the inscriptions. Of these the former, evidently a daughter of some Pallava chief, bore to him a son called Amma, who succeeded him on the throne.[2] The latter also gave birth to a son named Bhīma, who rose to prominence later under the names of Cāḷūkya Bhima II and Rājamārtāṇḍa.

Officers: Very little is known about the nobles and officers who were in the service of Vijayāditya IV. A certain Bhaṇḍarāditya also spoken of as Kuntāditya, owing probably to his skill in wielding *kunta* or lance, is said to have been 'a servant of Vijayāditya Kaliyartyaṅka'.[3] It is not, however, stated how he served his master during the short period of few months for which he reigned.

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1. SII. i. p. 42.
2. Cp. 3 of 1923-4.
   Tasya Śaśimauḷi-mūrtter-Umā-samān=ākṛtēḥ Kumārābhaḥ Pallava Mahādēvyā khaluyas sam abhavad-Ammarāj-ākhyaḥ.
3. SII. i. p. 43.

CHAPTER XII

AMMA I TO AMMA II

(A.D. 922 TO A.D. 935).

The death of Vijayāditya IV marks the beginning of a period of turmoil and internecine strife lasting nearly for fourteen years, when ambitious princes of the dynasty were engaged in fighting with one another for the possession of the throne The intrigues of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who espoused the cause of some one or the other of the disaffected princes, accentuated the troubles, and tended to produce a chronic state of anarchy in the kingdom. The struggle for power was, indeed, keen, and none could keep his position stably on the throne for long. Within the brief interval of about fourteen years that elapsed from the death of Vijayāditya IV to the accession of Cāḷukya Bhīma II, no less than six kings, Amma I, Vijayāditya V, Tāḷa I, Vikramāditya II, Bhīma, and Yuddamalla II, sat upon the throne, each to be removed in turn quickly by the hand of death or hurled down from his exhalted position by a more successful rival.

On the death of his father at Virajā, Amma I Rājamahēndra declared himself king, and assumed the title of Viṣṇuvardhana. At the time of his accession, however, Amma had very little power to enforce his authority. Vikramāditya II, his paternal uncle, who, as noticed already, rose in rebellion against his elder brother and sovereign was still at large. His feudatory relatives who were always disloyal at heart renounced their allegiance,

and having obtained help from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra III, defied his authority. The hereditary forces which were in the service of his father and grandfather deserted him and made common cause with his enemies. The situation was, indeed, grave; but Amma did not lose heart. He seems to have faced his enemies with unflinching courage, and succeeded ultimately in establishing himself on the throne, though the measures by means of which he managed to attain his end are absolutely unknown. The Ēḍēṟu Plates, which were probably issued immediately after his victory over the rebels, state that "Amma whose other name was Rājamahēndra,—having destroyed from afar his enemies, as the rising Sun destroys (from afar) the darkness, and having drawn his sword, which broke the dishonest heart of his feudatory relatives, who had joined the party of his natural adversaries, (i.e., the Rāṣṭrakūṭas)—" subdued the hereditary forces of his father and grandfather by his prowess.[1] It

1. SII. I. No. 36. p. 42.

"*Tat=sūnur=Uday=āditya iv=Āmmō Rājamahēndr-āpara-nāmā riputimirān=nihatya prakṛti-sapatna-nikṣipta-sāmanta-kulya-kuṭila-manōbhangakaram karavālam=uttkṛṣya śakti-traya-sampanna pratāp-āvarjita-pitṛ-pitāmaha prakṛtibalaḥ.*"

Hultzsch's translation of the last clause *pratāp-āvarjita-pitṛ-pitāmaha-prakṛti-balaḥ* does not bring out its exact significance. He renders it into English thus: 'won the affection of the subjects and of the army of his father and his grandfather by his might.' The word *āvarjita* which Hultzsch obviously takes to mean 'won the affection of' does not admit of this meaning. It is a derivative of *avṛj* which means to turn over, incline, bend, pour out, to cause

must not be supposed, however, that Amma I had succeeded in destroying his enemies completely, as stated in the inscription; for, his uncle, Vikramāditya the most

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to yield, to overcome' (M. Williams: Skt. English Dictionry p. 132). Taken with *pratāpa* with which it must be construed in the clause under consideration, *āvarjita*, must be taken to mean 'conquered, or subdued.' Again the term *prakṛti* in the expression *prakṛti-bala* is translated as 'people.' It must be pointed out that *prakṛti* is here used in a technical sense, and it denotes one of the constituent elements of the state, *viz.*, the territory, the king, ministers, the ally, the treasure, the army, and the fortress. Sometimes the corporations of citizens are added as an eighth. Generally, however, the term is taken to denote the king's ministers. Though the word *prakṛti* also means people, it must be taken to signify the ministers of the king. In that case, the clause should be translated as 'conquered by his might the ministers and the army of his father and his grandfather.' However, it seems more appropriate to take *prakṛti-bala* as a compound term, denoting one of the six kinds of army mentioned usually in the works on Arthasastra.

Maulam, bhṛtyam, tathā maitram, srainam, āṭavikam balam
Amitram-aparam ṣaṣṭham, saptamam n=ōplabhyatē.

Mānasōllāsa (Baroda Edn:), i. p. 77.

Of the six kinds enumerated in this passage, *prakṛti-bala* must be equated with '*maulam*' or *mūla-bala* for the terms *prakṛti* and *mūla* both mean primary or original. According to this view which I believe to be correct the clause of the inscription under discussion must be rendered into English as follows: 'subdued by his might the hereditary forces of his father and his grandfather.'

formidable of his rivals survived him, and never ceased, if we can depend upon the testimony of the Nūtimaḍugu Plates, to give him trouble continuously by his untiring efforts to seize the throne[1] Nevertheless, Amma I managed some how to keep his hold firmly on his kingdom and rule in comparative peace for the rest of his reign.

The activities of Amma I, were in the opinion of some, not confined to Vēngī. He is said to have invaded the Noḷamba kingdom and engaged himself in hostilities with the Noḷamba chief Ayyapa. 'Commenting on a fragmentary Noḷamba record, the epigraphist remarks, "Besides he (Ayyapa) had an enemy in a certain Ammaṇarāya, who, in all probability, is identical with the Eastern Cāḷukya king Ammarāja I, and was involved in war with many other kings. This information agrees with what is stated of Ayyapa in the contemporaneous records of the Eastern Cāḷukyas and the Gaṅgas, it being even hinted in the Kalucambar̤r̤u Grant of Amma II that Ayyapa fell in a battle with the Eastern Cāḷukya king, Cāḷukya Bhīma II, between A.D. 934 and 945"[2]. It is, however, doubtful whether the Noḷamba chief Ayyapa was at all a contemporary of Amma I; for, there is no evidence to show that Ayyapa ruled beyond A.D. 920.[3]

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1. EI. xxv. pp. 191 f.

According to this record, Vikramāditya fought one hundred battles for eight years before his accession with his enemies. As Amma was ruling for the greater part of this period, he must have been the enemy with whom Vikramāditya fought in most of these hundred battles.

2. ARE. 1911. Part II, Para 14, p. 62.

3. EI. x. 54.

An epigraph from Kadabagere dated A.D. 922 shows that Ayyapa's son Aṇṇiga was already at the head of his ancestral kingdom.[1] Ayyapa was probably killed in the expedition, which he appears to have led against the Gangas about this time, and was succeeded on the throne by his son Aṇṇiga.[2] Another epigraph dated A.D. 929 shows that Ayyapa's grandson Iṟuḷacōra was ruling the Noḷamba kingdom at that time.[3] It is, therefore, extremely unlikely that Ayyapadēva should have been a contemporary of Amma I. Ammaṇarāya referred to in the fragmentary Dharmapuri record was the Cēdi prince Ammaṇadēva, the father-in-law of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra III Nityavarṣa. The Noḷambas were at war with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas at this time as shown by the Kadabagere inscription cited above. It is not unlikely that the Cēdi king, Ammaṇadēva, who accompanied the Rāṣṭrakūṭa armies to the south, sustained a defeat at the hands of Ayyapa. The incident is thus seen to have no connection whatever with the affairs of Vēngī.

The success, which attended the arms of Amma I in his war against the rebels and their Rāṣṭrakūṭa allies, was due in no small measure to the efforts of two old officers, who were in the service of his family since the days of his father and grandfather. One of them was Mahākāla, the son of Gaumakāmbā, a foster sister of Cālukya Bhīma I. He was a distinguished warrior, and rose by dint of his merit, as noticed already, to the position of the commander of the army under that king.[4] The

1. SII. ix. i. No. 57.
2. EC. xii. Mi. 71.
3. SII. ix. i. No. 23.
4. EI. v. p. 131 f.

other was Bhaṇḍanāditya, known also as Kuntāditya, who was probably the superintendent of the *niyōgas* or offices at the court of Vijayāditya IV.[1] Although these two officers were specially rewarded by Amma I for the help they rendered him, the nature of their service is nowhere specified. It has been suggested that they originally rebelled, like the other officers and nobles, against Amma I, but were induced later to accept service under him by the judicious distribution of gifts.[2] This is not unlikely. Though positive proof of their complicity in the rebellion is lacking, attention must be drawn to an important fact, which seems to point in that direction and lend colour to the suggestion. The Ēḍēṟu Plates, it may be recalled, allude to Amma's reconciliation with the *prakṛti-bala* of his father and grandfather.[3] It is interesting to note that Kuntāditya, one of the two officers mentioned above, was the *niyōg-ādhikṛta*, the chief minister, i.e., a *prakṛti* in the court of Vijayāditya IV, and the other Mahākāla, the *sēnānī* or the commander-in-chief of the army of Cāḷukya Bhīma I. Therefore, the possibility of their early revolt from and subsequent reconciliation with Amma I does not seem to be so remote as it may appear at first sight.

Another chief named Indaparāja, who figures as a donee in one of the charters of Amma I, deserves mention here, not so much on account of his distinguished services as his descent. He was the son of Raṭṭiya and Gōvindakāmbā and a grandson of Indaparāja of the Mahāraṭṭa family, the lord of Mānyakhēṭa,[4] It is not however, possible to ascertain how Indapa was related to

1. SII. I. No 36. p. 40.
2. *Vēngī Cāḷukyulu*, pp. 54-5.
3. SII. i. No. 36. p. 40.
4. Cp. 3 of 1923-24.

the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed. His family probably came to the east coast with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas during one of their expeditions into the Eastern Cāḷukya kingdom, and settled down there permanently acknowledging the supremacy of the rulers of the country.

Amma I, who, as stated earlier, was also known as Rājamahēndra, is said to have founded the city of Rājamahēndravaram i.e., the present Rajahmundry on the eastern bank of the Gōdāvarī. It has been suggested that Amma I, unable to repel the frequent Rāṣṭrakūṭa attacks upon his capital, Vēngī, found it advisable to remove the seat of his government to a more secure place far beyond their reach. He is, therefore, said to have laid the foundations of the new city, called Rājamahēndravaram after his name on the farther side of the Gōdāvarī and made it the headquarters of his government.[1] There is, however, little evidence to show that Amma I had any connection with the foundation of Rājamahēndravaram. It is true that he was known as Rājamahēndra; but that does not by itself show that Amma I was the actual founder of the city; for, two other kings of the line viz., Amma II Vijayāditya, and Rājarāja, the son of Vimalāditya, had the same title. Tradition prevalent in Vēngī in the 14th century A.D. attributes, as a matter of fact, the foundation of the city to the latter;[2] and as far as we know there is nothing which militates against its genuineness.

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1. JAHRS. iii pp. 156-59.

2. *Kāvyālankāracūḍāmaṇi* 1 : 4; SII. vi. No. 662. v. 7.

Sōm=ānvayē Rājanarēndra-bhūpō
bhūtyā Mahēndrēṇa samō-babhūva
tasmād=abhūd Rājamahēndra-nāmā
Gōdā-taṭē'kāri puram sva-nāmā,

After a rule of seven years Amma I died. He was succeeded by his son, Bēta-Vijayāditya V or Kanṭhikā Vijayāditya, who seems to have been a boy of tender years at the time of his accession. Vijayāditya V was not, however, destined to rule his ancestral kingdom. Tāḷa, the son of Yuddhamalla I, unseated him after a rule of a fortnight, aud usurped the throne. How Tāḷa managed to overthrow Vijayāditya V and seize the kingdom, it is not possible to ascertain at present. He probably obtained help from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. However, his success was only temporary; he was attacked in his turn by Vikramāditya II, who slew him in battle and ascended the throne. Vikramāditya II appears to have been an energetic ruler. During the short period of his rule, he brought under his control not only his ancestral kingdom, Vēngī, but also Trikaḷinga, which was lost after the death of Cāḷukya Bhīma I. Though a doughty warrior, and the hero of a hundred battles, he was not able to keep himself in power for more than eleven months.[1] According to the Digubaṟṟu Grant of Cāḷukya Bhīma II, the only record which refers to the event, Vikramāditya II was attacked by Bhīma, the son of Amma I, who killed him in battle, and occupied the throne for a period of eight months.[2] And

1. SII. i. No. 37. p. 45. In some of the inscriptions even of Cāḷukya Bhīma II, Vikramāditya is said to have ruled for one year; "*Tam vinirjjitya Cāḷukya Bhīma-tanayō Vikramādityaḥ samvatsaram sa-Trikaḷingam Vēngī-maṇḍalam-apālayat.*" This is perhaps due to a desire on the part of the *praśasti* writer to state the regnal period of Vikramāditya II in a round figure.

2. IA. xiii. p. 214. *Tam bhitvā-yudhi-Bhīma-sannibha-balō Bhīm-Ōmma-sūnur - bhaṭas-san-mās-āṣṭakam-āvad-ēva vasudhām......*

he was overthrown in his turn by Yuddamalla II, the eldest son of Tāḷa I. The success of Yuddamalla II was due in no small measure to the help of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who espoused his cause and supported his claim to the throne. In pursuance of the traditional policy of his family, Gōvinda IV, who, having deposed his elder brother Amōghavarṣa II, ascended the throne in A.D 930, set his heart upon the conquest of Vēngī, and sent an army with Yuddamalla II, ostensibly to help him to regain the throne which his father had occupied for the short duration of a month, but really to take possession of the country and bring it within the pale of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire. The internal condition of Vēngī was favourable for the success of the venture. Though Bhīma, son of Amma I, succeeded in crowning himself king after putting Vikramāditya II to death, his authority was not recognised in all parts of the kingdom. Several princes of the blood, who declined to accept his sovereignty, rose up in revolt, and put forward their own claims to the throne. The Maliyampūṇḍi Grant, which gives a brief but vivid account of the affairs then prevailing in the country, states that "at the setting (i.e., the death) of Vikramāditya II, the kinsmen princes, who were desirous of the kingdom, *viz.*, Yuddhamalla, Rājamārtaṇḍa, Kanṭhikā-Vijayāditya and others were fighting for supremacy, oppressing the subjects like Rākṣasas (at the setting of the Sun)" [1] Of the 'kinsmen princes', mentioned in this record, Yuddhamalla is, no doubt,

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1. EI. ix. p. 55. "*Pascād=aham=ahamikayā Vikramādity-āstamanē Rākṣasā iva prajā-bādhanaparā dāyāda-rājaput-rā rājy=ābhilāṣinō Yuddhamalla-Rājamārtaṇḍa-Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya prabhṛtayō vigrahībhutā āsan.*"

identical with Yuddhamalla II, and Kaṇṭhikā Vijayāditya with Bēta Vijayāditya or Vijayāditya V, who was, as noticed in an earlier context, dethroned by Tāḷa I. The identity of Rājamārtaṇḍa is not known.[1] Despite the efforts of his rivals, thanks to the help of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Yuddhamalla II triumphed over them ultimately; he put to death Bhīma, the son of Amma I, and having taken possession of the throne ruled the kingdom for seven years.[2] He however, had

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1. EI. ix. p. 49. Dr. Hultzsch, at one time, believed that he was identical with Cāḷukya Bhīma II, who was also known as Rājamārtaṇḍa. This is absurd; for, Rājamārtaṇḍa, according to the Maliyampūṇḍi and other grants of Amma II, was a rival of Cāḷukya Bhīma II, whom he is said to have slain in battle, and ruled Vēngī subsequently for twelve years. Perceiving the absurdity of his identification, Dr. Hultzsch afterwards put forward the view that Rājamārtaṇḍa was perhaps the same as Rājamayya mentioned in the Kōlavennu and Kaluchambarṟu Plates. This view also cannot be accepted as Rājamayya was an officer of Gōvinda IV, and there is no evidence to show that he had any connection with the Eastern Cāḷukya royal family.

2. IA. p. 214......*Vyāpādya tam samyugē,*

Tāḷa-jyēṣṭha-sutō' tha Malla-nṛpatis=sapt=ānvapād=vatsaram..

Although it is stated in all the Eastern Cāḷukya records that Yuddhamalla II reigned for seven years, the actual period of his rule does not appear to have exceeded five years. Yuddhamalla II, succeeded, according to the unanimous testimony of the Eastern Cāḷukya inscriptions, Vikramāditya II; and it is clearly stated in several records of the time of Amma II that his father, Cāḷukya Bhīma II, expelled Yuddhamalla II five years after the death of

very little power. Though he succeeded in slaying Bhīma, and proclaimed himself king, his success was far from complete. Most of his rivals who were contending for the throne were still at large; and they showed no inclination to submit to his authority. Throughout his reign he had to wage war upon them attempting in vain either to destroy them or bring them under subjection.[1] He was, therefore, obliged to keep his Rāṣṭrakūṭa allies with him, and he could not contemplate the idea of dispensing with their services, so long as his hold on the country remained precarious. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas, on their part, were not eager to leave Vēngī, and return to their own kingdom. Gōvinda IV had no desire to relax his hold, and allow Yuddhamalla II to become the master of the territory, which had been conquered by his forces. At his instance, the conquered territory was apportioned among the feudatory Śabara chiefs, the commanders of the Vallabha (i.e., the Rāṣṭrakūṭa) forces and others who held it for seven years;[2] and only a small

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Vikramāditya II, and ascended the throne (EI. ix. p, 55). Yuddhamalla II, therefore, could have ruled over Vēngi during the interval of five years, and, not seven years as is usually stated in the Eastern Cāḷukya inscriptions. He appears to have counted his regnal years not from the date on which he actually took possession of the throne of Vēngī, but from the time of the death of his father, Tāḷa I.

1. EI. ix. p. 47 f. "*Vigrahēn-aiva panca varṣāṇi gaṭā.*"

2. ARE. 1917 Part II, p. 24. *Sāmanta-Śabara-Vallabha daṇḍāś-vāṇyaca* (*daṇḍ-ēśān-anyāns-ca* ?) *bhuvam=alumpann-abdān, Saptāsvantarē='tra Mālaparāja kṛta-paṭṭabandham avamatya-balam*(?)

part of the country extending to the south of the Kṛṣṇā appears to have been left directly under the control of Yuddhamalla II.[1] It was not, therefore, possible for Yuddhamalla to establish his authority firmly in the country under the circumstances; and he had to give way and return to the exile from which he came, when a powerful enemy made his appearance on the scene. Despite the unsettled condition of the country and the insecurity of his position on the throne, Yuddhamalla II found time to beautify Bezwada which was probably the seat of his government. He built a new temple dedicated to Kārtikēya, the guardian deity of his family, and a tower in front of another temple erected by his grandfather, Yuddhamalla I.[2]

1. EI. xv. p. 150-59.
2. Ibid.

CHAPTER XIII

CĀḶUKYA BHĪMA II

(A. D. 935 TO 945)

The reign of Yuddhamalla II came to an end abruptly with the advent of Cāḷukya Bhīma II, the son of Vijayāditya IV by his queen Mēḷāmba, and a half brother of Amma I. He was probably one of the rivals, who contended against Yuddhamalla II for the throne during the five years struggle, which preceded his own accession. How he gathered strength to overthrow not only his rival kinsmen but also the powerful Rāṣṭrakūṭa nobles and commanders cannot be ascertained at present. He managed, however, to overcome all his enemies and rule the kingdom for twelve years.

The achievements of Cāḷukya Bhīma II are only briefly noticed in one of his inscriptions. The Kōlavennu Plates refer to his victory over Tātā-Bikyana, Vaḻadi (Dhaḻaga ?), Munniṟiva, and Rājamārtāṇḍa.[1] Who these chiefs were and how Cāḷukya Bhīma II came to defeat them in battle are not explained in the inscriptions of his reign. More light, however, is thrown on the subject by the records of his son and successor, Amma II. In the Maliyampūṇḍi Grant, for instance, it is stated that among the rival kinsmen, who were contending for the throne, he slew Rājamārtāṇḍa, and drove into exile in foreign countries

1. SII. I. No 37. p. 45.

Yas=Tāta-Bikyan-ākhyam-Vaḻadim Munniṟiva-Rājamārtāṇḍa-ājau vijitya bāhvā......

Kaṇṭhikā Vijayāditya and Yuddhamalla.[1] The Māngallu Grant alludes to his conflict with Yuddhamalla and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who had been occupying the country for seven years before his accession, and his final victory over them.[2] The Kalucambaṟṟu Grant enumerates the names of several enemies, whom he is said to have slain in battle. It is stated that Cāḷukya Bhīma II slew without assistance from others "the glorious Rājamayya, and Dhaḻaga, who excelled far and wide, and the fierce Tāta-Bikki, and Bijja, who was (always) ready for war, and the excessively powerful Ayyapa, terrible and savage, and the extremely great army sent by Gōvinda, and Lōva Bikki, the ruler of the Cōḷas, and the valarous Yuddhamalla,—(all of them) possessed of marshalled arrays of elephants."[3] The identity of the enemies defeated by Cāḷukya Bhīma II, with the exception of Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya, Yuddhamalla, and Gōvindarāja, is not definitely established. The first two, as pointed out already, have been correctly identified respectively with Bēta-Vijayāditya V, and Yuddhamalla II of the Eastern Cāḷukya royal family and the last with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda IV, who ruled from A.D. 930 to 934-35. It has been suggested that Ayyapa was the Noḷamba prince of the same name,

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1. EI. ix. p. 52.

Yō-'vadhīd-Rājamārtaṇḍam=tēṣām yēna raṇē kṛtau
Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya-Yuddhamallau vidēśagau.

2. ARE. Cp. 1 of 1916-17.

3. EI. vii. pp. 187-88.

Śrīmantam Rājamayyam-Dhaḻagam=urutaram=Tāta-Bikkim pracaṇḍam=
Bijjam sajjam ca yuddē balinam-atitaram=Ayyapam bhīmam-ugram
daṇḍam Gōvindarāja-praṇihitam-adhikam Cōḷapam Lōva-Bikkīm
vikrāntam Yuddhamallam ghaṭita-gaja-ghaṭā-sannihaty-aika-ēva.

who ruled over Noḷambavāḍi in the first quarter of the tenth century A.D.[1]. This is highly improbable; for, as stated earlier, there is no evidence to show that the rule of Noḷamba Ayyapadēva extended beyond A.D. 920-21, whereas Cāḷukya Bhīma II did not ascend the throne before A.D. 934-35. Ayyapa, whom Cāḷukya Bhīma slew in battle, must have been a different person; he was probably identical with Ayyapayya, who was ruling in A.D. 931-32 the districts of Māseyavāḍi hundred and forty and Kōgali-nāḍu as subordinate of Gōvinda IV.[2] Two nobles of the name of Bijja are mentioned in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions of this period. A Mahāsāmanta Bijja, who bore the titles *birudara-roṭṭa* and *birudura-mai-kutti*, was governing Māseyavāḍi hundred and forty and Kogali five-hundred in A.D. 922 as a subordinate of Nityavarṣa Indra-Ballaha III.[3] Another Bijja, whose real name was

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1. EI. viii. p. 181. "Ayyapa" in the opinion of Dr. Fleet, "is very possibly Ayyapadēva, doubtless a Noḷamba prince of the Noḷambvāḍi territory in Mysore, to whom the Western Ganga prince Ereyappa lent a force for the purpose of fighting against a certain Vīramahēndra, (Ibid. vi. p. 47) and if so, it probably follows that Vīramahēndra was another biruda of Cāḷukya Bhīma II, or rather, was the variant of his buruda "Gaṇḍamahēndra." Vīramahēndra, no doubt, may be taken as a variant of Gaṇḍamahēndra. It does not, however, follow that persons bearing these birudas are necessarily identical. The Bēgūr Inscription to which Dr. Fleet has referred does not indicate, who this Vīramahēndra was. It simply states, "*Bīramahēndranoḷ-kādal-endu - Ayyapa-dēvange.*"

2. ARE. 297 of 1918, SII. ix. i. No. 61.

3. ARE. 512 of 1915, 297 of 1918; SII. ix. i. Nos. 60 and 61.

Dantivarman, figures as an opponent of the W. Ganga prince Būtuga II in the spurious Sudi Plates.[1] Besides these two, a third Bijja of the Cāḷukya lineage is referred to in the records of the Lēmulavāḍa chiefs as an ally of Arikēsari II, and an enemy of Gōvinda IV.[2] Of these three chiefs, the last two may be left out of account. Bijja alias Dantivarman, the enemy of Būtuga, was obviously alive even after the accession of Cāḷukya Bhīma II, as he is said to have opposed Kṛṣṇa III after the death of his father, Baddega, in A.D. 939.[3] Bijja, the Cāḷukya, who rebelled against Gōvinda IV about A D. 934 could not have fought on his side with Cāḷukya Bhīma II at the same time. It is not, therefore, unlikely that Bijja slain by Cāḷukya Bhīma II, was the Mahāsāmanta Bijja, the governor of Māseyavāḍi and Kōgali under Indra III. Very little is known about the antecedents of the other chiefs who are said to have suffered death at the hands of Cāḷukya Bhīma II. There is little doubt, however, that they were Rāṣṭrakūṭa officers sent to Vēngī by Gōvinda IV to maintain his authority and uphold the cause of his ally, Yuddhamalla II.

It is, however, doubtful whether all the chiefs mentioned above were actually slain by Cāḷukya Bhīma II,

1. EI. iii. p. 180.
2. Pampa's *Vikramārjuna Vijayam* 9 : 52 f, 14 : 37 f Sources of the Medieval History of Deccan ii. p. 48.
3. EI. iii. pp. 179-80.

Laksmīm-Indrasya harttum gatavati divi yad-Baddeg-āmke-mahīsē
-hṛtvā Lallēya-hastāt kari-turaga-sita cchatra-simhāsanāni
prādāt Kṛṣṇāya rājñē kṣiti-pati gaṇanāsv=agraṇīr-yaḥ pratāpāt
rājā Śrī Būtug-ākhyas-samajani vijit-ārāti-cakraḥ pracaṇḍaḥ.

Kim c=ātaḥ kinnu n=āgād=Alacapura-patiḥ Kakkarajō='ntakasya
Bijj=ākhyō Dantivarmmā yudhi nija-Banavāsīm tvaram......

as stated in the Kalucambaṟṟu Grant, for the evidence of the contemporary records is not quite consistant. The Kōlavennu Plates refer only to a defeat which he inflicted on Tāta-Bikkyana, Vaḻadi, Munniṟiva and Rājamārtaṇḍa.[1] As Yudhamalla II and the other chiefs referred to in the Kalucambaṟṟu Grant are not mentioned here, it may be urged that he came into conflict with them a second time together with Yuddhamalla II and others when he put them all to death. This is improbable, for the records of the reign of his son, Amma II, which allude to his encounter with Yuddhamalla II, are not in agreement with one another on this point. The Maliyampūṇḍi Grant, for instance, states that Cāḷukya Bhīma II killed, among his rival kinsmen, Rājamārtaṇḍa, and drove Kaṇṭhikā Vijayāditya and Yuddhamalla into exile.[2] The Māngallu Grant, on the contrary, roundly asserts that he destroyed them all.[3] The Kalucambaṟṟu Grant goes a step further and specifies, as mentioned above, the names of Yuddhamalla II and the other enemies killed by him in battle. It is not, therefore, possible to accept, having due regard for all the facts, the statement of the Kalucambaṟṟu Grant without reservation.

The Eastern Cāḷukya records ascribe, no doubt, the victory of Cāḷukya Bhīma II exclusively to his own prowess. There is, however, reason to believe that he perhaps received some help directly or indirectly from outside. The war which he waged on Yuddhamalla II and his overlord Gōvinda IV was not an isolated affair confined to Vēngi. It was in fact an episode in a wide-spread

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1. SII. I. No. 37. p. 45.
2. EI. ix. p. 52.
3. ARE. Cp. of 1916-17 "*Tān=samastān-samutkhāya.*"

revolutionary movement, which had its origin in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom, to undermine the power of Gōvinda IV and bring about his downfall. Gōvinda IV, it may be recalled ousted his elder brother, Amōghavarṣa II, and usurped his throne. He failed, however, to make his rule acceptable to all his subjects. A section of his nobles headed by his designing paternal uncle, Baddega, and his son Kannara, turned hostile towards him and began to plot against him in secret. Gōvinda dealt with them severely and banished them, if the evidence of the Sudi Plates can be trusted, from the kingdom.[1] Baddega thereupon repaired with his son to Dāhaḷa and sought the protection of his father-in-law, the Cēdi sovereign, Yuvarājadēva I. The court of the Cēdi monarch became the natural meeting place of the disaffected Rāṣṭrakūṭa nobles, where they engaged themselves in devising schemes for the overthrow of Gōvinda IV. Baddega and his son had two important allies, who were mainly instrumental in paving their way to the throne. The Western Gānga prince Būtuga, who had designs upon his ancestral throne, and was anxious to supplant his elder brother and sovereign Rājamalla III, expecting to gain his object with the help of Baddega and his son, joined them at Tripurī. It is said that Būtuga met the glorious Baddega, the favourite of the earth, in the country of Dahāḷa, and then being of the most excellent understanding, wedded his daughter, along, of a verity, with the Maiden of Eloquence, at Tripurī.[1] More important than this Ganga prince was Arikēsari II, the powerful Cāḷukya chief of Lēmulavāḍa,

1. iii. p. 183. p. 179.
Tasy-ānujō nija-bhuj=ārjjita-sampad-arthō
bhūvallabham samupagamya Dahāḷa-dēśē
-Śrī Baddegam tad-anu tasya sutām sah-aiva
Vākkanyayā vyavahad-uttama dhīs-Tripuryām.

whose possessions lay in the east of Telingana on the western frontier of the kingdom of Vēngī. He was a brother-in-law of Gōvinda IV, having married the princess, Rēvakanirmaḍi, one of the daughters of king Indra III.[1] Despite his family relations with Gōvinda IV, Arikēsarin II, for some reasons unknown at present, deserted him and having espoused the cause of his rival Baddega, invited him to his court.[2] He was probably instrumental in instigating Cāḷukya Bhīma II to stir up a rebellion in Vēngī against Gōvinda IV, and strike a blow for independence[3] Cāḷukya Bhīma II lent a willing ear, and

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1. Telingana Inscriptions, *Itara* No. 21.

Dēvīm Rēvaka-Nirmaḍi kṣiti-patēr-Indrasya putrīn-nutām
Paulōmīm=iva-Vāsava-śŚriyam=iva Srīman-Muradhvamsakaḥ
Strī-ratnam pariṇīya yēna nitarām tasyās-sapatnīkṛtā,
nūnam sapta-samudra-mudrita-mahīm=mān-onnatēn=ādhunā.

It is, however stated in the Parabhani Plates that Arikēsari II married a princess of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family named Lōkāmbikā (Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan II. p.48.)

Rāṣṭrakūṭa-kulē khyātē-jātā-Lōkāmbikā satī,
Vīra-Śrīriva-vīrasya tasy-āsīt sudatī priyā.

Arikēsari II probably married two princess of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, one called Rēvakanirmmaḍi, the daughter of Indra III, and another named Lōkāmbikā, the daughter of some other chief whose name is not known.

2. EI. xiii. p. 329.

3. There is, of course, no direct evidence to show that Arikēsari II was in any way connected with Cāḷukya Bhīma II. The following facts may, however be taken into consideration in this connection. (1) Both Arikēsari II and

perceiving that the dissensions in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family offered him a splendid opportunity to drive out the pretenders and win back his paternal kingdom, unfurled the flag of independence and declared war upon Gōvinda IV. The details of the war are not recorded in the inscriptions. They notice only the final stages, when Yuddhamalla and his allies were vanquished. On hearing of the outbreak of the rebellion in Vēngī, Gōvinda IV probably despatched an army accompanied by several of his nobles and officers whose names are mentioned above, to put down the rebels, and uphold the authority of his ally Yuddhamalla II. While Govinda's armies were engaged with the rebels in Vēngī,

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Cāḷukya Bhima II were enemies of Gōvinda IV. (2) Their territories abutted on each other. (3) Cāḷukya Bhima II rose in rebellion against Gōvidda IV in A.D. 934; and Arikēsari II also set up the standard of revolt and overthrew the authority of Gōvinda IV in the same year. (4) Cāḷukya Bhima II was a petty chief before his accession. A large part of Vēngi was under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Yuddhamalla II ruled the territory on the south of the Kṛṣṇā from his capital Bezwada. Kaṇṭhikā Vijayāditya held sway over Piṭhāpuram and its neighbourhood, and Rājamārtāṇḍa was in possession of some other part of the country. It is obvious that the power and the resources of Cāḷukya Bhima II could not have been so great that he could have defeated and killed unaided not only his rivals but also the nobles and the mighty army of the powerful Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Gōvinda IV. Taking these facts into consideration, it is not at all improbable that Arikēsari II, who appears to have been determined to compass the ruin of Gōvinda IV, incited Cāḷukya Bhima II to revolt against him.

another revolt broke out in their rear in the eastern districts of Telingana. Bijja, Bijayita, or Bijayāditya, the chief of the Mudugoṇḍa branch of the Cāḷukya family, shook off the yoke of Gōvinda IV and defied his authority. To chastise Bijja and bring back the frontier districts under his subjection, Gōvinda despatched a force under an officer called Palya Aryama. Bijja, who was not able to offer effective resistence, sought the protection of his neighbour and ally Arikēsarī II, who promptly marched to his assistance and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army.[1] About the same time or immediately after, disaster also overtook the army, which Gōvinda IV sent to Vēngī. Cāḷukya Bhīma II took advantage of the developments in Eastern Telingana. overthrew the Rāṣṭrakūṭa forces in a fierce engagement, put to death most of the nobles and commanders opposed to him, and occupied the country. Gōvinda IV, who was involved in serious troubles at home, could not send fresh troops to reconquer Vēngī. In response to the invitation sent by Arikēsari II, Baddega left Tripurī and arrived at Lēmulavāda, where he was proclaimed king. Gōvinda IV, no doubt, made an unsuccessful attempt to drive him away from his dominions; but having suffered a defeat at the hands of the rebels, he found that he could no longer remain in safety in his dominions, and fled to Tanjore, where he took refuge in the court of his father-in-law, the Cōḷa monarch Parāntaka I.[2]

1. Telingana Inscriptions: *Itara* No. 21.
Sāmantān=daṇḍamukyān......see p. 147 f. n. 1.

2. Pampa: *Vikramārjuna Vijayam*, 9. 52 f.
" *Gojjigan-ēmba-sakala-cakravarti besase daṇḍu-vanda mahā-sāmantaram maraḷ-iridu gelda sāmanta-cūḍāmaṇiya*

The downfall of Gōvinda IV, and the consequent disorders prevailing in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom left

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bīramumam-an-ativartiy=āgi mār=maleva cakravartiyam kiḍisi tanna nambi banda Baddega-dēvange sakala-sāmrājyaman=ōrantu māḍi nirisid=Arikēsariya tōḷ=valamumam......" EI. xxvi. p. 232.

1. It is generally believed that after the dethronement of Gōvinda IV, Baddega or Amōghavarṣa III, as he styled himself after his coronation, was allowed to rule the kingdom in peace. This is far from the truth. Several *sāmantas* still remained loyal to Gōvinda IV, and declined to accept Amōghavarṣa as their lawful sovereign. The names of a few of these are handed down to us in the contemporary Kannaḍa literature and the inscriptions. Pampa, for instance, refers to a victory which his patron Arikēsari II had won over Aṅkakāra Bappuva, the younger brother of a certain Kakkala, who came to attack him at the head of an elephant force (*Vikramārjuna Vijayam* 952 f). He was probably identical with Bappuka, who together with Dantiga opposed Amōghavarṣa III and was slain, as a consequence, by his son Kṛṣṇa III (JBBRAS. xviii. p. 247). Dantiga, the ally of Bappuka, was, no doubt, the same Dantivarman alias Bijja, the ruler of Banavāsi, who is mentioned in the Sudi Plates as one of the enemies defeated by Būtuga II (EI iii. p. 183). The Western Ganga king Rājamalla III and the Noḷamba Pallava Aṇṇiga did not recognise Amōghavarṣa, and probably declared themselves independent (JBBRAS. xviii. p. 247). Besides the *sāmantas*, the Cēdis, the kinsmen of his mother, Vijambā, seem to have set their face against him. It is stated in the Karhad Plates, that Kṛṣṇa III, while he was still a *yuvarāja* under his father, defeated a Haihaya prince called Sahasrārjuna, an elderly relative of his mother and

Cāḷukya Bhīma II free to consolidate his position and establish his power firmly in Vēngī. He celebrated his coronation in 934-35 A.D., and having assumed the name of Viṣṇuvardhana, ruled the kingdom in peace for twelve years. Of the events of his reign nothing of importance is recorded. He was assisted in the administration of his dominions by Vijjaya, a prince of the Pānara family, whose strong arm is said to have offered protection to the kingdom.[1]

Besides his official name Viṣṇuvardhana, Cāḷukya Bhīma II had several titles. He is referred to as Gaṇḍa-mahēndra and Rājamārtāṇḍa in his inscriptions.[2] His successors, who appear to have held him in great esteem, speak of him with considerable respect and allude to him as Rāja-Bhīma or Bṛhad-Bhīma,[3] owing probably to the fact that he put an end to the prevailing anarchy and emancipated the country from the foreign yoke. Cāḷukya Bhīma II married two wives: one of them, Ūrjapā or Ankidēvī, the mother of his eldest son Dānārṇava, was the daughter of a king of Kaḷinga, whose name, however,

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wife. (EI. iv. p. 288). This Sahasrārjuna appears to be identical with Arjuna, one of the sons of Kōkkala I, whose grand-daughter Vijamabā became the wife of Jagattunga and the mother of Indra III and Amōghavarṣa III.

1. SII. i. p. 46.

2. Ibid; I.A. xiii, p. 213.

3. Cp. 8 of 1913-14; JAHRS. xi. p. 86.

is not disclosed in the inscriptions.[1] The other was Lōkāmbikā, a princess of unknown parentage. She bore him a son called Amma II, who succeeded him on the throne.

1. In the Kandayam Plates (JAHRS. xi. p. 86) the name of Dānārṇavs's mother is said to have been Ūrjapā.

Sūnur=Bṛhad=Bhīma mahī-bhujasya
naptā kaḷāvit-Kali-Viṣṇunāmnā
sūnuḥ Kaḷing=ēśvara sat=sutāyām
Bhīmādhipō='bhūd=varam=Ūrjapāyām

Bhīma, the son of Bṛhad-Bhīma, and Ūrjapā, mentioned in this verse, is the same as Dānārṇava. He seems to have taken this additional name at the time of his coronation. In the Māngallu Grant (Cp. 1 of 1916-17), however, the mother of Dānārṇava is spoken of, not as Ūrjapā as in the Kandayam Plates, but as Aṅkidēvi.

Tasya dvai-māturaḥ kṣmām sakala-jana mudē-Vallabhād āpta-rajyō
...d-Dānārṇav=ēśō=py=avati manu-nayād=Aṅkidēvītanūjaḥ.

Probably the lady, whose original name was Ūrjapā, was popularly known as Aṅkidēvi.

CHAPTER XIV

AMMA II VIJAYĀDITYA VI

(A. D. 945 TO 970).

On the death of Cāḷukya Bhīma II, Amma II, his son by Lōkāmbikā, ascended the throne, overstepping his elder step-brother Dānārṇava, and assumed the name of Vijayāditya. How it became possible for him to ascend the throne while he was still a lad of twelve years, superseding his elder brother cannot be ascertained at present. Having perhaps been born in purple, it was probably considered that he had a better claim than Dānārṇava to the throne.

Amma II is generally believed to have succeeded his father peacefully and ruled the kingdom undisturbed continuously for a period of twenty-five years, at the end of which he was forcibly ejected by Bādapa, the son of Yuddhamalla II. This view is, however, erroneous; and it is contradicted by the evidence of contemporary records, which have been recently brought to light. Though several inscriptions of Amma II have come down to us, they do not throw much light upon the events of his reign; but the records of some of his contemporaries and successors give us a clear insight into the state of affairs in the country during his reign. In the Kōrumelli Plates of the time of Rājarāja, it is stated that Amma II vanquished Yuddhamalla II in battle and ruled the earth for twenty-five years.[1] Despite his victory over

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1. IA. xiv. p. 52. *Yuddhē Yuddhamallan tam dhāṭyā nirghāṭya dhāruṇī dha* (?) *t=sut=Amma-bhūpa kṣmām panca-vimsati varṣāṇy=apāt.*

The passage is, no doubt, corrupt, but the sense is quite clear.

Yuddhamalla II, Amma II was not left in undisputed possession of his kingdom; for, Bādapa, the son of Yuddhamalla II, renewed the contest, and challenged his authority. According to the the Ārumbāka Plates, Bādapa invaded Vēngī, and having defeated Amma II with the help of the forces obtained from Karṇa (Kanna) Vallabha i.e., the Rāṣṭrakūta king Kṛṣṇa III and driven him into exile, he occupied the country. and ascended the throne.[1] The time of Bādapa's attack on Vēngī and the expulsion of Amma II are not definitely known. This has given rise to considerable speculation. It has been suggested that after Amma II reigned for twenty-five years (i.e., in A.D. 970), Bādapa overthrew his authority, and having driven him out of the country occupied the throne for a period of twenty-seven years, usually referred to in the Eastern Cāḷukya records as a period of anarchy, due to the unwillingness of the kings of the senior branch to whom they belong to recognise the rule of junior branch of which Bādapa and his younger brother Tāḷa were prominent members.[2] This view is, however, quite untenable. The names of Bādapa and Tāḷa I are, no doubt, ommitted in all the Eastern Cāḷukya records excepting their own; but, as the names of Bādapa's father and grandfather are mentioned in them, the omission of their names cannot be attributed to the incident of their birth as the scions of the junior branch, but to some other cause, which cannot be ascertained at present. It is not, therefore, possible on this ground to

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1. EI. xix. p. 142.

Āṣritya Karṇa (Kanna)-rāj-ākhyam Vallabham Bādap-ādhipaḥ vinirgamayya tam-dēśād-Ammarāj-ākhyam-ujjitam.

2. Ibid. p 140.

shove conveniently the reigns of Bādapa and Tāḷa II into the period of interregnum, and contend that there had been no break in the continuity of the Cāḷukya rule over Vēngī. Moreover, the evidence of the Ārumbāka Plates strongly militates against this view. According to this record, Bādapa obtained, as stated already, help from Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III to invade Vēngī and wrest the throne from Amma II. Kṛṣṇa III, it may be noted, died in A.D. 968, whereas Amma's rule lasted until A.D. 970. If Bādapa really secured the support of Kṛṣṇa III in his expedition against Vēngī, as stated in the inscription, it should have taken place before Kṛṣṇa's death, and not some two years later. This is indirectly corroborated by the evidence of the Pennēṟu Grant of Śaktivarman I, according to which Amma II was slain, after a rule of twenty-five years, by his elder brother Dānārṇava, who then ascended the throne.[2] The Conjeevaram inscription of Jaṭā Cōḍa Bhīma, clearly states that he had slain Dānārṇava and his Kaḷinga allies and took possession of the Cāḷukya dominions which he ruled until A.D. 1002[2], when he was overthrown by Dānārṇava's son, Śaktivarman I, with the help of the Coḷa monarch, Rājarāja the great.[3] These facts prove conclusively that Bādapa

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1. Mad. Govt. Or Mss. Library 15—2—26, Vol. i. pp. 348-58.

Bhūnātha Bhīma-tanayaḥ samarēṣu caṇḍaḥ
Bhānu-pratāpam=abhihatya tam=Amma-rājam
Dānārṇava-kṣiti-patis-samapād-ajasra-
dān-ārcit=ārthi-nikaras=tri-samas=sa dhātrīm.

2. EI. xxi. p. 29.

3. Nilakanta Sastri, Cōlas pp. 218-19.

did not invade Vēngī at the close of Amma II's reign and rule the country during the period of interrugnum. It is evident that the advent of Bādapa and his rule over Vēngī must be assigned to an earlier date during the reign of Amma II and not at the end of it. The Māngallu Grant of Dānārṇava, dated in the twelfth regnal year of Amma II, i.e. A.D. 956, alludes to an invasion of Vēngī by Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III, and the consequent flight of Amma II to Kaḷinga. Though it looks as if this was the occasion, when Bādapa seized the throne, two important facts point to the contrary. In the first place, it is said that Kṛṣṇa III bestowed the country after the conquest, not upon Bādapa but upon Dānārṇava the elder brother of Amma II.[1] Secondly, the recently discovered Intēṟu Grant of Bādapa clearly states that Amma II was a mere lad at the time when Bādapa expelled him from the country and took possession of the kingdom.[2] Amma II, it may be noted, was only a lad of twelve years at the time of his coronation. At the time when the Māngallu

1. ARE. 1916-17.

Sūnus=tasy-Āmmarājas-sura-pati vibhavaḥ patta-baddhō-dharitrīm
rakṣann=ēkādas=ābadān jitaripur=agamat Kṛṣṇa-kōpāt=Kaḷingam
tasya dvai-māturaḥ kṣmām sakala-jana mudē vallabhad-āpta-rājyō
...d-Dānārṇav=ēsō='py avati manu-nayād=Aṇkidēvi-tanūjaḥ.

2. ARE. Cp. 6 of 1938-39 (By the courtesy of the late Rao Bahadur C. R. K. Charlu, the Government Epigraphist for India).

Ammam Bhīm=ātmajam paṭṭa-baddham Śrī Yuddhamallajh
Bālam balāt=tam=uccātya Bādapō bhūpatir=babhau.

Grant was issued in his twelfth regnal year, he could no longer have been a boy but a young man of twenty-four or twenty-five years. Therefore, Bādapa's invasion of Vēngī, and the expulsion of Amma II from his kingdom must be referred to the early years of the latter's reign, following more or less immediately his coronation in A.D. 945.[1]

The information furnished by the inscriptions cited above indicates three well marked stages in the history of Amma II.

I.	A.D. 945 to 955.	Accession of Amma II; war with Yuddhamalla II; his coronation. - Bādapa's invasion and Amma's expulsion, the rule of Bādapa and Tāḷa II; Amma's return and his restoration.
II.	A.D. 945-6—?	Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion; Amma's flight to Kaḷinga; Dānārṇava's rule; Amma's return and restoration.
III.	A.D. 970.	Rebellion of Dānārṇava; Amma's death in battle; Dānārṇava's accession.

I. The episode of Yuddhamalla II, of which mention has already been made, is obscure. The solitary reference in the Kōrumelli Plates tells us little more than that he was defeated or perhaps even killed by Amma II in battle. The obstacle thus being cleared from his way, Amma II celebrated his coronation on Bhṛgu-vāsara, Mārgaśira ba. 13 of the Śaka year 867, corresponding to

1. The Proceedings of the Third Session of the Indian History Congress, Calcutta, 1939, pp. 624-25.

Friday, 5th December, A D. 945.[1] Nevertheless, his position on the throne was still insecure. He was a mere lad in his early teens without sufficient power to curb the disloyal activities of the nobles, who were nominally subject to his authority. Some of his kinsmen, specially Bādapa and Tāḷa, the sons of Yuddhamalla II, were untiring in their efforts to oust him. They secured the support of several nobles and hereditary officers; and in order to strengthen their hands further and increase their chances of victory, they appealed to Kṛṣṇa III for help. Kṛṣṇa III, who was eager to seek out an opportunity for some foreign military adventure to distract the attention of his turbulent *sāmantas*, whom he had, with difficulty, reduced to subjection, lent a willing ear, responded readily to their request and despatched an army for their assistance. On the arrival of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa forces in Vēngī, some of the *sāmantas* headed by Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa, the chief of Kolanu, rose probably in revolt against Amma II; and Paṇḍaranga II, the Kaṭakarāja, the commander of his army seems to have deserted him and joined the enemy.[2] The disloyalty of his nobles and the treachery of the army reduced Amma II to helplessness. He could not therefore offer effective resistence to Bādapa, and having suffered a defeat at his hands in the field, saved himself by a timely flight from the kingdom.

The flight of Amma II cleared the obstacles from the path of Bādapa; he took possession of the kingdom

1. IA. xix. p. 102.

2. He figures as the *ājñapti* of the Intēṛu Grant of Bādapa, Cp. 6 of 1938-39.

Ājñaptir=asya dharmasya Paṇḍarangō yaśōnidhiḥ-sūnuḥ Kaṭakarājasya mūla-varg-aika-nāyakaḥ.

and having assumed the official name of Vijayāditya, he ascended the throne. The first measure, which he seems to have adopted after his accession, was to reward the Eastern Cāḷukya nobles, who were mainly instrumental in raising him to the throne. He gave to Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa, the valiant chief of Kolanu, who espoused his cause and was probably responsible for winning over the other prominent Eastern Cāḷukya nobles to his side, the village of Ārumbāka in the Velanāṇḍu Viṣaya; but Gaṇḍanārayaṇa did not keep the village for himself. He bestowed it in his turn on his cousin and adherent, Candena, in recognition probably of the services rendered to him in destroying his enemies.[1] Another person, who received a similar reward, was Māvena Śarman, a brahman of the Kauṇḍinya-gōtra, the son of Yakṣa and his wife Kāntama. He was an *amātya* of Bādapa, and for the great trouble he had taken in promoting their interests, Tāḷapa granted him, at the instance of his elder brother and sovereign, the village of Intēṟu in the Velanāṇḍu Viṣaya.[2] The other nobles such as Paṇḍaranga II, the son of Kaṭakarāja II, were probably rewarded in the same manner; but no information is available at present about any gift which he made to them to recompense them for their services.

It is not known how long Bādapa ruled the kingdom. Nor is it possible to ascertain the circumstances under which his reign came to an end. Probably he died a natural death. On his death, his younger brother, Tāḷa II, ascended the throne and adopted the name of Viṣṇuvardhana.[3] It is said that Tāḷa II never ascended the throne,

1. EI. xix. p. 148.
2. ARE. Cp. No. 6 of 1938-39.
3. EI. xix. p. 148.

but governed the kingdom perhaps conjointly with his brother, on the ground that, in the Siripūṇḍi Grant, he refers to his brother as '*Bādap=ākhya mahā-rāj=ādhirāja-paramēśvaraḥ*,' and speaks of himself with modesty as '*tad=anujō-Viṣṇuvardhanas=Tāḻapa-rājaḥ*, and has made use of the formula '*tribhuvana-simha*' instead of the customary '*tribhuvan=āṅkuśa*' as the legend upon his seal.[1] The grounds, on which the objection is based, are not so strong as to preclude the possibility of Tāḷa II's accession to the throne. The use of paramount titles with reference to his elder brother and their omission in his own case must be attributed to the great esteem in which he held his brother and his own modesty. The alteration in the form of the legend was prompted by his personal whim and need not necessarily indicate an inferior status. That Tāḷa II did not rule conjointly with his brother is clear from the reference to him in the Intēṟu Grant as 'the well-behaved Tāḷapa, the brother of the king'.[2] Moreover, the expressions '*Viṣṇuvardhanas=Tāḻā-bhūpalaḥ sva-rājya-samayē*' and '*Viṣṇuvardhana-Mahārāj=ādhirājaḥ*,' occurring in the grant portion of Siripūṇḍi Grant leave no room for doubt that Tāḷa II did actually rule as the sovereign for some time after the death of his brother.

Very little is known about the events of Tāḷa II's reign. The only fact known about his reign is that, while he was governing the kingdom, he made the gift of the village of Siripūṇḍi in Velanāṇḍu Viṣaya to Kuppaṇayya,

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1. Āndhrapatrika Ugādi Samchika 1921. Bādapa Maharāju and Ārambaka Plates, p. 4 (of the article).

2. ARE. Cp. No. 6 of 1938-39.

Tāḻapēna vinītēna rāja-bhrātr=āvanīm=avan,

prādād=amātya=pūjyāya grāmam-Māvena śarmaṇē.

a descendant of Pallavamalla, as a mark of appreciation of the heroism of his father, Mahāsāmant-āmātya Makariyarāja, who was killed in a battle in the service of his master.[1] Makariyarāja perhaps lost his life, as pointed out by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao, while engaged in a fight on behalf of Bādapa and Tāḷa, and the latter, in order to recompense his family for the sacrifice of his life in the battle, appears to have granted the village of Siripūṇḍi to his son Kuppaṇayya.[2]

The reign of Tāḷa II seems to have come to an end abruptly by the return of Amma II from exile. The circumstances, which favoured Amma's return to the kingdom from which he was driven out, and its recapture from his enemy are not known. Some of the *sāmantas*, who were the principal supporters of Bādapa, appear to have become, for some unknown reason, discontented with Tāḷa II, deserted him and joined Amma II. The Kolanu chief, Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa, who, as noticed already, had been an active supporter of Bādapa made up his differences with Amma II and went over to his side. For, in the Guṇḍukolanu Grant, it is stated that his father, Nṛpa Kāma, the lord of the Lake i.e., Kolanu, and Nāyamāmbikā were the parents of the

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1. EI. xix. p. 148.

Pallavamall=ānyvayasya Kali Varmasya pautrāya asmat-prastava-mṛtasya kṛta-klēśasya Makariya-rājasya putrāya Kuppa-ṇayya vara-nāmnē

Parama-nir-bhṛtasya kṛta-klēs-āmara-jita-svāmi-hṛdayasya Pallava-mall-ānvayasya catur-upadhā-śuddhasya Mahāsāmant-āmātya pada-niyuktasya sakala-guṇ-ālamkṛtasya patihita dhavaḷasya-

2. Āndhrapatrika, Ugādi Samcika 1921. Bādapa Mahārāju and Ārambaka Plates. p. 4 (of the article).

wife of Amma II.[1] From this it is evident that Nṛpa Kāma gave his daughter in marriage to Amma II and entered into an alliance with him. The family of Kaṭakarāja, in which the office of the commander of the royal forces had been hereditary since the days of Vijayāditya III, appears to have similarly changed sides. Paṇḍaranga II, the son of Kaṭakarāja, was, it may be remembered, the supreme commander of the *mūlā-varga* or the permanent hereditary forces under Bādapa.[2] Durgarāja, another member of this family, very probably a brother of Paṇḍaranga II mentioned above, figures in the Maliyampūṇḍi Grant of Amma II, as the founder of a Jinālaya at Dharmapuri, for the maintenance of which Amma granted the village of Maliyampūṇḍi.[3] Tāḷa II was not able to offer effective resistance to Amma II and maintain his

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1. IA xiii. p. 249.

   Satyasya janma-bhūmis=sajjana-saṁvēṣṭitas-Sarō-nāthaḥ
   vikrama-guṇ-aika-dhāmō-Nṛpa-Kāmaḥ pūjit-ēśa-pada kamalaḥ
   rūpa-lāvaṇya-saubhāgyā satya-dharma parāyaṇā
   Nāyamāmb-āṅganā tasya sarōruha-daḷ-ēkṣaṇā.

   Tābhyām-asmadīya śvaśrubhyām prārthita etc.

2. ARE. Cp. No. 6 of 1938-39.

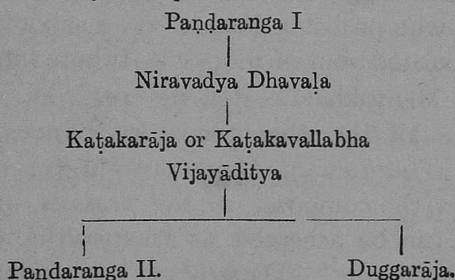
3. EI. ix. pp. 55-6. Durgarāja and Paṇḍaranga II were contemporaries. The former was the son of Kaṭakādhipati Vijayāditya, and the latter was the son of Kaṭakārāja. Now, the terms Kaṭakādhipati and Kaṭakarāja, which are synonymous, denote an official designation and not a proper name. It is not, therefore, unreasonable to presume that the Kaṭakarāja of Intēru Grant and the Kaṭakādhipati of the Maliyampūṇḍi Grant are one and the same person. In that case, the

authority, owing to the defection of these chiefs. It is not unlikely that he lost his life, while engaged in defending himself against Amma and his partisans In the Pabhuparṟu Grant of Śaktivarman I, it is stated that Amma II despatched to heaven a *dāyāda*, who was a great hero, over the steps formed by the dead bodies of the elephants slain by him in battle.[1] Although the name of the *dāyāda* killed by Amma II is not mentioned in the record, it is not improbable that he was Tāḷa II.

II. The line of Yuddhamalla I appears to have come to an end with Tāḷa II. The country once again passed into the hands of Amma II, who resumed the reins of the government, and bestowed, as noticed already, gifts upon his allies in return for their help. He remained in undisturbed possession of his kingdom until A.D. 955, when he became involved once again in troubles, owing to the invasion of Kṛṣṇa III. The causes of this invasion are

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genealogy of the family described in the Maliyampūṇḍi Grant may be amplified as follows :—



1. JTA. ii. p. 408.

Saṁgrāma-bhūmau sura-vāsa-bhūmim
ārōpya vīrōttamam-Ammarājaḥ
dāyādam-ugr-āsi-nipātit-ēbha-
santāna-sōpāna-paramparābhiḥ.

not known It was probably prompted by the ambitious desire of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch for territorial aggrandisement. Kṛṣṇa III was at the height of his glory. He put down all his opponents and made himself the undisputed master of his ancestral kingdom. He crushed the Cōḷas and annexed the whole of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam to his dominions. He resolved to conquer Vēngī with the object of rounding off his territories by extending them to the eastern sea. To ensure the success of his enterprise, he fostered dissensions in the E. Cāḷukya royal family and won over to his side Dānārṇava, the elder brother of Amma II, whom he had superseded. When his preparations were complete, Kṛṣṇa III marched into Vēngī, at the head of a large army and carried fire and sword into the heart of the Cāḷukyan kingdom. Amma II could not cope with the situation. Unable to withstand the advance of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa forces and turn the tide of the invasion, he abandoned the kingdom and saved himself by timely flight to Kaḷinga.[1]

Kṛṣṇa III entrusted the government of Vēngī to Dānārṇava, who probably held it as a subordinate ruler, paying a stipulated sum of money as tribute into the royal treasury at Mānyakhēṭa. For the rest, he must have enjoyed, like all the other feudatory princes, complete autonomy. The rule of Dānārṇava, if the estimate of Pōtanabhaṭṭa, the composer of the *praśasti* of the Māngallu Grant, can be accepted as trustworthy, must have been indeed popular[2]. Dānārṇava was assisted in the administration of the kingdom by a Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief of the name of Kākartya Guṇḍyana, a descendant of a certain *amātya* called Sāmanta Voḍḍi. At his instance, Dānārṇava granted to a brahman of the name of Domma

1. ARE. Cp. 1 of 1916-17.
2. *Ibid. Sakala-jana- mudē......Dānārṇav-ēśo-'py-avati Manu-nayād.*

Sarman of the Kutsa-gōtra who practised the vows of Kārpāṭika, the village of Māngallu in the Natavāḍi Viṣaya, as an *agrahāra*, free from all taxes.[1] How long Dānārṇava remained in possession of the kingdom, there is absolutely no means of ascertaining at present. Though the exact duration of his rule is not known, it could not have been long. As soon as the Rāṣṭrakūṭas turned their back upon Vēngī, Amma II must have returned from Kaḷinga, and he appears to have become reconciled to Dānārṇava, for he issued in his own name the charter registering the grant of the village of Māngallu made by the latter during his exile in Kaḷinga.

III. The events of the last years of the reign of Amma II after his return from Kaḷinga are totally lost in obscurity. Inscriptions slightly later in date, however, throw some light on the concluding stage of the reign, which reveals the outbreak of fresh internecine strife, and the final collapse of Amma's power. The Pennēṟu Grant, as noticed already, makes it quite clear that during the last years of Amma's reign, his elder brother, Dānārṇava, who did not obviously forgive him for supplanting him upon the throne, rose in revolt and having slain him in battle occupied the throne once again.[2] Dānārṇava had several confederates, who rendered him invaluable help in his undertaking. According to Kandayam Plates, the Mudugoṇḍa Cāḷukya chiefs, Mallana and Goṇḍiya, who received from him the governorship of Pottapi-nāḍu together with the insignia of the *sāmantas* on the occasion of his coronation, must have joined him and fought on his side against Amma II.[3] Similarly, Nṛpa Kāma, a brother, if

1, ARE. Cp. 1 of 1916-17.

2. Mad. Govt. Or. Mss. Library. 15-2-26. Vol. ii. pp. 348-58.

3. ARE. Cp. 26 of 1937-38, Part II, Para 12.

the evidence of the Piṭhāpuram inscription of Mallapadēva can be trusted, of Dānārṇava as well as the latter's Kaḷinga relatives, king Kāmārṇava and his younger brother, Vinayāditya, who later ranged themselves on his side in his struggle with Jaṭā Cōḍa Bhīma, must have also supported his cause.[1] The combination of his enemies proved too strong for Amma II, and he perished in the strife unable to maintain his position.

The career of Amma II was chequered. Coming to the throne at the tender age of twelve, he was driven out, during the course of his reign of twenty-five years, twice from his kingdom, which, however, he managed to recover on both the occasions. On the third occasion, when he was beset with the enemies, he opposed them boldly and perished on the battle-field. Amma was a brave warrior; he was fond of elephants and took great delight in training them and leading them to warfare. He had several followers, who helped him in war and in the administration of the kingdom. Of these, Nṛpa Kāma, the ruler of Kolanu, and Durgarāja, son of the Kaṭakarāja Vijayāditya, have already been mentioned. Besides these, Kuppana of the Mitrāyu family, an *amātya* and *sāmanta* of the king, and Kormiya, the *S'rīkaraṇa* of the royal *suvarṇa-bhāṇḍāgāra*, figure as donees in some of the records of his reign.[2] The most important of them was, however, Ballāladēva, the *yuvarāja*, who was next in importance only to the king.[3] How Ballāladēva was related to Amma II cannot be

1. EI. iv. p. 226 v. 15; JAHRS. x. p. 23.
2. EI. ix. p. 132. IA.xii. p. 93.
3. EI. v. p. 142. Yuvarāja Ballāladēva is only introduced indirectly as the master of a certain Boddiya, a *Vēlābhaṭa* (a servant sworn to live, fight and die for his master) in his service. The expression '*Ballāladēva Vēlābhaṭāya*' is taken as a single name by Kielhorn, who was consequently

ascertained definitely. He might have been a son of Amma II, whom he nominated as his heir-apparent, and raised him to the exhaulted office of *yuvarāja* to enable him to learn at first hand the art of government. What is more likely, however, is that Ballāladēva was a nobleman or an able servant of the king, who found favour with him and was taken on account of his ability or some other reason as a deputy to carry on the administration of the kingdom on his behalf.

Amma II followed a liberal policy in matters of religion. Though his personal faith cannot be deduced from his records, he dealt with all the faiths in his dominions in an impartial manner. He distributed gifts liberally to temples and other religious foundations irrespective of their sectarian differences. The Hindu shrines as well as the Jaina *basadis* were benefited by his munificient patronage. The Śaiva monks of the Kālāmukha sect and the Jaina ascetics of Nandi and Aḍḍakaligacchas flourished in his dominions and propogated the tenents of their respective faiths.[1] The country, notwithstanding the frequent devastating wars which must have affected its economic condition, appears to have been comparatively prosperous.

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obliged to accept it as an alias of Boddiya. It is more reasonable to take Ballāladēva-Vēlābhaṭa as *ṣaṣṭhī-tat-puruṣa* and render it into English as Ballāladēva's *vēlābhaṭa*.

1. ARE. Cp. 11 of 1914-15, EI. xii. p. 161, Bhārati, vol.... p. 97; EI. vii. p. 177 f, ix. p. 47 f, xxiv. p. 268 f.

CHAPTER XV

DĀNĀRṆAVA

The reign of Amma II, who ruled for a period of twenty-five years, came to an end in A.D. 970. The accession of Dānārṇava was not as peaceful as the unanimous testimony of the later Cāḷukyan records would have us believe. He rose up in rebellion, and after putting his half-brother to death, took forcible possession of the throne. Dānārṇava was the eldest son of his father; and for some reason, unknown at present, his claim was overlooked, when his younger brother was at first chosen as heir-apparent, and later in A.D. 945 was crowned king. Dānārṇava, who was thus supplanted, bided his time, and remained apparently on terms of friendship with the new king; but fortune smiled upon him for the first time, after the lapse of a dozen years, in A.D. 956, when Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III invaded Vēngī, and Amma II was, as stated already, obliged to retire to Kaḷinga. But Dānārṇava did not long remain in power; for, on the return of Amma II, he had to surrender the kingdom and go back again into the obscurity of the disinherited existence from which he had emerged. Nothing more is heard of Dānārṇava for another twelve years. Towards the end of this period, however, he seems to have again set up the standard of rebellion, and made a determined effort to the throne. Dānārṇava, according to the Pennēṟu Grant of his son, Śaktivarman I, rebelled against Amma II, put him to death in a battle

and seized his vacant throne.[1] It is said that, according to the Telugu Academy Plates of Śaktivarman II, 'just before the interregnum, the two brothers Dānārṇava and Amma II,' 'murdered the sons of each other.'[2] This, however, is not true. The text of the inscription though corrupt does not lend colour to this view; it only states that of the two sons of Rāja Bhīma, viz., Dānārṇava and Amma, the younger i.e. Amma ruled the earth for twenty-five years.

Dānārṇava celebrated his coronation in 892 Śaka corresponding to A.D. 970-71.[3] His reign did not, however, last long; it came to an end abruptly after a short duration of three years. Brief though it was, Dānārṇava's reign was not uneventful. It was under Dānārṇava that the Eastern Cāḷukyas subjugated the southern Telugu country extending up to the Tamil frontier in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. The coastal strip between Kandukūr in the north of the present Nellore district and the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam did not come under the sway of the Cāḷukyas

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1. *Bhūnātha-Bhīma tanayaḥ samarēṣu caṇḍaḥ*
Bhīma-pratāpam=abhihatya tam-Amma-rājam
Dānārṇava-kṣitipatiḥ sam=apād=ajasra
dānārcit=ārthi-nikaras=tri samā dharitrīm.
Madras Government Or Mss. Library. 15—6—26 (Elliot Collection) i. pp. 348-58.

2. ARE. 1914. Part II, para 10. JAHRS. v. pp. 35-36.
Dānārṇav=Āmma-nṛpayōr=dvis=tat=tanayaur=apata
Kaniyān=Amma-nṛpatiḥ kṣmām=abdāni pañca-viṁśatim.
The verse has been corrected by Dr. V. Raghavan M.A. as follows :—
Dānārṇav=Āmma-nṛpayōr=dvi-tat=tanayōr=apāt
kanīyān=Amma-nṛpatiḥ kṣmām=abdān pañca-viṁśatim.

3. JAHRS. xi. p. 87.

of Vēngī even during the reign of Amma II. The Kandayam Plates, which record the Grant of Pottapi—three hundred, as an appanage to two princes of the Mudugoṇḍa Cāḷukya family by Dānārṇava, show clearly that the Pottapi country, extending across the Eastern Ghats from Rājampēṭa in the Cuddapah district to Kāḷahasti in Chittore district, passsed into his hands some time before the issue of the grant. Pottapi-nāḍu was probably reduced to subjection during the last year of Dānārṇava's reign. The district was until then in the possession of the Vaidumbas. Bhuvana Trinētra Vaidumba Mahārāja was ruling, according to his Madras Museum Copper-Plate Grant, the Kaḍapa-twelve and the neighbouring country 'from his capital (*vīḍu*) at Pottapi in Pāka-nāḍu' in Śaka 893, corresponding to A.D. 972.[1] That his authority extended over the whole of the Western Cuddapah district is shown by an epigraph at Upparpalle on the Cuddapah-Pushpagiri Road, dated Śaka 894 (972-3 A.D.)[2] Dānārṇava evidently took advantage of the weakening of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power about A.D. 970 and invaded the Vaidumba territory which lay along his southern frontier. His enterprise was completely successful; Bhuvana Trinētra was subjugated and the administration of the district was entrusted, as noticed already, to the princes of the Mudugoṇḍa Cāḷukya family, whose devotion earned them the gratitude of their master.

The conquest of Pottapi brought Dānārṇava into conflict with some of the powerful monarchs in the south. The Cōḷas who were busily engaged in the reconquest of their lost dominion in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam seem to have

1. Cp. 7 of 1935-36.
2. 325 of 1905; ARE. 1935-36, Part II, p. 58.

resented the advance of the Cāḷukyas. There is reason to believe that a serious encounter took place between the two powers during Dānārṇava's reign. Śaktivarman I, the eldest son of Dānārṇava, who after an exile of twenty-seven years, ascended the throne of Vēṅgī in A.D. 999-1000, claims to have destroyed his enemies in the *Dramiḷ=āhava* or Tamil war during his *śaiśava* or boyhood.[1] The Tamil war in which Saktivarman I distinguished himself could not have taken place after his accession to the throne of Vēṅgī in A.D. 999-1000; for, it is said to have been an incident of his *bālya* or *śaiśava*; and Śaktivarman whose father's death took place in A.D. 973 could not have termed himself a *bāla* or *śiśu* at the time of his own accession. As he had to live in exile for a period of twenty-seven years after his father's demise, he must have been a young man of at least thirty-five years, if not older. It is not, therefore, unreasonable to presume that the *Dramiḷ=āhava* must have taken place during the brief reign of Dānārṇava, and that Śaktivarman won his spurs on that occasion. What led up to the conflict, it is not easy to describe. Some border dispute might have roused the feelings of hostility on both sides, and precipitated the out-break of the war. Though Śaktivarman might have actually defeated his Cōḷa enemies, even as stated in his inscriptions, the

1. JTA. ii. p. 409.
Yasya kanṭhīravasy-ēva śaiśavam samaśōbhata
śauryēṇ-ābhīla-śuṇḍāla nirbhidā Dramiḷ-āhavē.
Cf. A. 15 of 1917-18. *Bālyē kīrttikalābhi Cauḷika-raṇē yēna vraṇ-ōdbhasinā.*

Cāḷukyas do not seem to have gained any advantage from his victory.

The failure of the Cāḷukyas to take advantage of their victory over the Cōḷas must be attributed to their preoccupation elsewhere. They seem to have come into conflict about the same time with a more formidable enemy, who was destined to overthrow their sovereignty. This was the Telugu Cōḷa prince Bhima, son of Jaṭā Cōḍa, the ruler of Peḍakallu in the present Kurnool district. The circumstances, under which Bhīma was obliged to take up arms against Dānārṇava, are not clearly known, though certain allusions in his Kailāsanātha temple inscription produce the impression that he did not approve of the former's usurpation of the throne of Vēngī. Though broken and fragmentary, owing to the vandalistic zeal of the Coḷa renovator of the temple, it furnishes much valuable information about Bhīma's antecedents and activities. Bhīma seems to have been a grandson through a daughter, whose name is unfortunately lost, of Kollabhigaṇḍa Vijayāditya IV, who ruled Vēngī for six months in A.D. 922; and his sister appears to have been married to a king of Vēngī probably Amma II.[1] Early

1. The Kailāsanātha temple epigraph, which is falsely attributed to the Cōḷa king, Rājarāja I, opens with the praise of the Telugu Cōḷa family, and refers to a king, an ornament of this family, Cōḷa Trinētra, Karikāla, or Jaṭā Cōḍa Bhīma. This part of the *praśasti* is evidently modelled after that of the Eastern Cāḷukyas. The names of the Eastern Cāḷukya monarchs such as Gūṇagānka-Vijayāditya, Cāḷukya Bhīma I, and Kollabhigaṇḍa Vijayāditya as well as that of a daughter (?) whose name is unfortunately lost, are next introduced in order to show that Cōḷa Trinētra (i.e., Jaṭā Cōḍa Bhīma),

in his youth (*śaiśavē*), he came into contact—friendly or hostile, it is difficult to say—with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Kṛṣṇa III. This is but natural, for Peḍakal, his native country, was included in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominions; and Bhīma could not have been an indifferent on-looker of the stirring events of his day. On the death of Kṛṣṇa III, he must have shaken off, like all the dependent *sāmantas*, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa yoke, and taking advantage of the confusion caused by the break-down of the central government carved out a small kingdom for himself. The political revolution in Vēngī and the consequent usurpation of the throne by Dānārṇava must have filled his mind with feelings of resentment, and the conquest of Pottapi must have made him alive to the proximity of the danger and the unwisdom of inaction. Whatever might have been the motives, which prompted Bhīma to set himself against Dānārṇava, he declared war upon him and concerted measures to overthrow his authority.

Very little is known about the details of this war. The meagre information that can be gleaned from the Kailāsanātha temple epigraph indicates that Dānārṇava

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had descended through his mother from the illustrious royal family of Vēngī. Otherwise the introduction of the names of Kollabhigaṇḍa and his ancestors into Jaṭā Cōḍa Bhīma's *praśasti* is hardly intelligible. The reference to the Āndhra country as *svabhaginī padam* (l. 24) i.e., his sister's place (country) suggests that Bhīma's sister was married to a king of Vēngī, very probably Amma II.

and his allies fought stubbornly, although they had to succumb ultimately. Much emphasis, however, cannot be laid upon the disjointed bits of information preserved in this mutilated record. Nevertheless, it may be asserted with confidence that Jaṭā Cōḍā Bhīma succeeded in putting to death Dānārṇava and his allies and reducing to subjection the country that acknowledged the sway of the Cāḷukyas. Dānārṇava must have died early in the struggle; for all the Cāḷukya records of the Post-Restoration period, with the exception, of course, of a single late inscription assign to him a reign only of three years, which was succeeded by a period of anarchy lasting for the duration of twenty-seven years. As Dānārṇava's coronation was celebrated in A.D, 970, and as his son Śaktivarman I came to the throne, after an interregnum of twenty-seven years, in A.D. 999-1000, his death must have taken place in A.D. 972-3.

CHAPTER XVI

THE INTERREGNUM

The death of Dānārṇava did not result in the submission of Vēṅgī. The *sāmantas* and other adherents of the dead monarch still held out. They fall into three groups. First, there was the Vaidumba king, Gaṇḍa Trinētra whom Dānārṇava had recently reduced to subjection. He was the hereditary enemy of the Telugu Cōḷas; and he was not disposed to accept Bhīma, whom he must have regarded as an equal, as his overlord and sovereign. The clash between the two became inevitable. The Vaidumba was presumably worsted in the contest and had to acquiesce in the supremacy of the Telugu Cōḷa[1] Next come the *sāmantas*, *mānyas*, and the wild tribes dwelling in the jungles in the east. The hilly region situated in the Madhya or Central Kaḷinga corresponding to the present Agency tracts had always been the home of warlike savage tribes who showed no inclination to submit to authority. It was not an easy task to keep them under control, and the Cāḷukya rulers of Vēṅgī had to adopt special measures to enforce their authority. They assigned estates to their nobles in this region; and one of the branches of the royal family migrated early to this district and settled down there permanently. No wonder that the *sāmantas* and *mānyas* at the head of the jungle tribes, confident of the natural strength of their mountain

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1. *Vaidumba prabhṛiti rājā-rajanya-rājita pīṭhastham* of the Kailāsanātha temple inscription is suggestive of this.

strongholds, held out against Bhīma and defied his authority. Bhīma was a brave warrior and capable leader. Undaunted by the numerous difficulties that beset his path, he led an expedition against them and put them down with a stern hand.

The war with the eastern *sāmantas* and *mānyas* involved Bhīma in a war with Kāmārṇava, the Eastern Gaṅga king of Kaḷinga. The causes of this war are not difficult to surmise. Dānārṇava was related, through his mother, to the Kaḷinga royal family and Kāmārṇava might have been naturally desirous of avenging the death of his cousin, and restoring to his children their patrimony. More important than this was, perhaps, his ambition to re-establish the sovereignty of his family over the Central and the Southern Kaḷinga, which had remained in the possession of the Cāḷukyas since the time of Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana. Kāmārṇava was not, however, destined to achieve his ambition. Though he held out for a while against the Telugu Cōḷa, he had to succumb ultimately. Notwithstanding the great distance which he had to traverse, Bhīma, it is said, marched at the head of an army to Kaḷinga and after some hard fighting put to death not only Kāmārṇava but also his younger brother, Vinayāditya who, on his death, succeeded him on the throne of Kaḷinga.

The Kaḷinga war was not an easy walk over to Bhīma as the language of the Kailāsanātha temple inscription seems to suggest. He had to spend several

years fighting with the Eastern Gaṅga princes in the hilly tracts of Kaḷinga. Though he slew Dānārṇava and took possession of his kingdom as early as A.D. 972-3, it was not until A.D. 981, some eight years later, that he was able to overcome the opposition of the Kaḷingas. Kāmārṇava seems to have offered stubborn resistance until he fell heroically fighting against the enemy in A.D. 978. The task of defending the realm seems to have then devolved upon his younger brother, Vinayāditya, who carried on the fight for three years longer, until he too laid down his life on the battle-field. With the death of Vinayāditya in A.D. 981, the backbone of the opposition was finally broken, and Kaḷinga submitted. Bhīma having thus successfully destroyed all his enemies became the undisputed master of the kingdoms of Vēngī and Kaḷinga, and his authority was not seriously questioned until the end of the century.

CHAPTER XVII

RESTORATION

The Eastern Cāḷukya rule in Vēṅgī did not come to an end with the Telugu Cōḷa conquest. It suffered, no doubt, an eclipse; but with the removal of the cause of its obscuration, it made itself manifest once again and continued its normal course as usual. On the death of Dānārṇava, his two sons, Śaktivarman I and Vimalāditya, who must have been quite young at that time, found the political conditions in their native home utterly uncongenial and sought safety in exile. Much is not known about their activities during the years succeeding their departure from Vēṅgī. It is not unlikely that they fled at first to Kaḷinga and took refuge at the Eastern Gaṅga court; but after the death of Kāmārṇava and his brother, and the Telugu Cōḷa conquest of the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom, they were obliged to leave Kaḷinga and search for an asylum elsewhere, where they could live in safety undisturbed by their enemy. There is reason to believe that the sons of Dānāṇava with their families and retinue migrated ultimately to the Cōḷa country and under the protection of the great Cōḷa monarch, Rājarāja I, settled down at Tiruvāiyāṟu in the neighbourhood of Tanjore. The refugees were welcomed cordially at the Cōḷa court, and necessary steps were taken to make them feel happy in their new surroundings. In fact, some of them had taken so kindly to the Cōḷa country that they chose even after the Restoration to remain there permanently rather than return to their native

lnad[1] The cordiality displayed by Rājarāja in receiving the fugitive Eastern Cāḷukya princes at his court was not entirely disinterested. He was an ambitious monarch with vast schemes of territorial conquest, which could not be successfully carried out without the co-operation of friendly powers. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who competed in the past with his family for the mastery of the whole of South India, had, no doubt, disappeared; but their fall did not materially alter the situation. The Western Cāḷukyas, a new line of kings, who had been the feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarchs, rose rapidly to prominence in Karṇāṭaka, and welded together the broken fragments of the old empire into a new kingdom. Rājarāja knew that any attempt to

1. Members of the Eastern Cāḷukya royal family figure in several contemporary Cōḷa records. Vambavai, the queen of Śaḷukki Vīmayan (Bhīmayan) is mentioned in an epigraph at Tiruvaiyāṟu, dated in the 22nd year of Rājarāja, corresponding to A.D, 1007. (SII. v. 516). The Śaḷukki Vīmayan of this record is none other than Dānārṇava, who assumed the title of Cāḷukya Bhīma at the time of his coronation (JAHRS. xi. p. 87). She migrated to the Cōḷa country obviously with the rest of her family, and preferred to remain there permanently, though she could have returned with safety to Vēngī after the Restoration. Similarly, Jananātha, the son of Rāma, 'the crest jewel of the Cāḷukyas' entered the Cōḷa service and rose to the position of a trusted minister of state under Rājēndra Cōḷa I (SII. iii. p. 425). Another Eastern Cāḷukya prince, Sarvalōkāśraya Śrī Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja alias Cāḷukya Vijayāditya Vikkiyaṇṇa, who like Jananātha joined the Cōḷa service, won distinction in the army, and was posted probably to the outpost at Koṭṭār on the Kēraḷa frontier (Cōḷas i. p. 244.)

extend his dominion in the north would involve him in a war with the Western Cāḷukyas and that the kingdom of Vēngī, which lay on the eastern flank of their territories, was bound to play an important part in the coming struggle. He, therefore, resolved to win over Vēngī to his side; and believing that the best way to attain his object was to espouse the cause of the sons of Dānārṇava, he offered them asylum in his dominions. To ensure the stability of his friendship, he gave his daughter, Kundavai, in marriage to Vimalāditya, the younger of the two princes and concerted measures to restore them to their ancestral kingdom.

Rājarāja appears to have invaded Vēngī in A.D. 999-1000 or a little earlier. Vēngī figures in the list of the conquered countries for the first time in the inscriptions of his 14th year This is indirectly confirmed by the evidence of the Eastern Cāḷukya records, according to which the reign of Śaktivarman I came to an end in A.D. 1011, after a rule of twelve years. It follows from this that the commencement of Śaktivarman's rule over Vēngī coincided in point of time with Rājarāja's conquest of the country. Though the Cōḷa inscriptions give no details, and dispose of the subject with a laconic reference, the subjugation of Vēngī was not effected without difficulty. The inscriptions of Śaktivarman, three of which have come down to us, throw some light upon the progress of events. In the Pabhupaṟṟu Plates, which are perhaps the earliest, it is said the Śaktivarman killed at first a great warrior, Ēkavīra, sent by Cōḷa Bhīma, with his own hand; then he put to death two powerful chiefs Baddema and Mahārāja; and finally he plucked out with its roots the full-grown tree of the Jaṭā Cōḍa's (family) which, with its

strong overshadowing branches, stood on the crest of the mountains (*bhūbhṛt*) viz. kings. The Telugu Academy Plates, while describing the events mentioned above, state that Baddema and Mahārāja, whom Śaktivarman slew, were, in fact, sent against him by his enemy (Cōḷa Bhīma), who was as great and powerful as the ancient demon king, Rāvaṇa. The Pennēṟu Grant, which also alludes to these victories, makes it explicit that he despatched Cōḷa Bhīma through the gateway of the battle to the abode of Yama. It is clear from these that Jaṭā Cōḷa Bhīma, whom Śaktivarman overcame, was no ordinary enemy. He was a powerful sovereign who ruled an extensive kingdom; and his supremacy was acknowledged by several feudatory chiefs from whom he exácted tribute. Śaktivarman would not have found it possible to overthrow the authority of so powerful a king, but for the willing co-operation of the Cōḷa monarch. Even with the support of the Cōḷa armies he had to wage war upon Bhīma with varying degrees of success for some years. Three definite stages are clearly marked in the course of the war. First, there was the expedition led by Ēkavīra or the unrivalled hero. Who he was and how he came to be killed by Saktivarman are matters on which no information is available at present. His defeat and death must have opened the eyes of Bhīma to the seriousness of the situation; for, he despatched another army under Baddema and Mahārāja, two of his most trusted lieutenants to oppose the invaders.[1] But

1. It is not possible at the present state of knowledge to discover the identity of these two princes. They were very probably scions of the Telugu Cōḷa family. As Śaktivarman, who slew them, claims to have rooted out the tree *viz*. Jaṭā Cōḷa, it appears as if they too belonged to the family of which he was a

they two perished like Ēkavīra on the battle-field and the second expedition shared the fate of the first; Bhīma appears to have lost the whole of Vēngī as a consequence of these disasters and retired to Kaḷinga to gather together all his resources and make a sustained effort to expel from the country Śaktivarman and his Drāviḍa allies.[1] He did not waste much time, and allow Śaktivarman to establish himself in Vēngī. Having quickly gathered up his forces, he marched at the head of a grand army, accompanied by a contingent of the Eastern Gaṅga forces. In the absence of his allies who seem to have returned to their native country after installing him upon the throne, Śaktivarman could have offered but little resistance. He seems to have abandoned the newly won kingdom and fled once again to the Cōḷa court for protection. Meeting with no serious opposition, Bhīma seems to have overrun the country, rapidly advanced on Kāñcī,

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prominent member. If that were so, Mahārāja might in all probability be identical with Cōḷa Mahārāja, the ruler of Rēnāḍu.

1. The Eastern Cāḷukya records place the commencement of Śaktivarman's reign in 999-1000 A.D.; and the Coḷa conquest of Vēngī was completed in the same year; but Jaṭā Cōḷa Bhīma was alive until 1001-2 A.D., as shown by the Kailāsanātha temple inscription. It must also be remembered that certain members of the Eastern Gaṅga family accompanied him at that time to the south. (238 of 1930-31, ARE. 1930-31, ii. p. 242.) All these facts clearly show that by A.D. 999-1000 Bhīma was dispossessed of Vēngī, though he still managed to maintain his authority in Kaḷinga.

the second capital of the Cōḷas and captured the city without difficulty in A.D. 1001. What happened after this is not quite clear. As both Rājarāja and Śaktivarman are said to have slain Bhīma, they must have encountered him somewhere subsequent to his occupation of Kañcī. Rājarāja's inscriptions dated in his 16th regnal year A.D. 1001-2 include for the first time (in addition to Kuḍamalai-nāḍu, Kollam and) Kaḷinga in the list of the conquered countries.[1] It may be reasonably inferred from this that the Telugu Cōḷa occupation of Kāñcī was quickly followed by a counter Cōḷa invasion of the coastal districts of the Telugu country, which resulted in the death of Jaṭā Cōḷa Bhīma and the subjugation of the whole area including Kaḷinga.

1. SII. iii. No. 51, pp. 105-106.

CHAPTER XVIII

ŚAKTIVARMAN I

A.D. 999-1000—1011.

With the death of Cōḷa Bhīma, the enemies of Dānārṇava's family were completely exterminated, and Śaktivarman I was firmly established on the throne of his ancestors. Though he succeeded at last in regaining his lost kingdom, he was able to attain his object only by sacrificing the independence of his country. The Vēngī he came to rule over was no longer an autonomous kingdom; it was a subject state dependent on the Cōḷa monarchy. The subjection of the country was not, of course, absolute. The external forms of an autonomous state were still maintained. The king was still free to manage the internal affairs of his kingdom without outside interference; he was not probably called upon like other feudatory chiefs to pay the annual tribute into the treasury, at Tanjore. For the rest, notwithstanding the marriage alliance with the imperial family, his freedom was completely restricted. He could not take any step which might be injurious to the Cōḷa imperial interests.

The position of Śaktivarman was far from secure even after the overthrow of the Telugu Cōḷa regime. Several influential people who were antagonistic to his family still flourished in the country. They were likely to give him trouble at the earliest opportunity. It was necessary to curb their power and strengthen his position. As soon as he found it convenient to attend to the administration of the kingdom, he dealt with them

severely. He deprived them of their estates and conferred them on his followers who loyally supported his cause.[1] While he was still engaged in restoring order in his territories, the peace of the kingdom was once again disturbed by a foreign invasion.

The Western Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi, who rose to power, as noticed already, during the last quarter of the 10th century A.D., inherited from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas whom they supplanted, their imperial traditions. Taila II, the founder of the dynasty, who was in his early days an *anuga* in the service of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III, must have accompanied that monarch in his southern campaigns in the Tamil country and participated in the capture of Kāñcī and Tanjore, the two great cities in the Cōḷa empire. When he came to the throne in A.D. 973 after a successful dynastic revolution, he wanted to revive the glorious traditions of the empire of which he became the master; but as his rise to power coincided with the revival of the Cōḷa imperialism, he could make but little progress in extending the boundaries of his kingdom in the south. He, no doubt, came into conflict with the Cōḷas, who had already established themselves in Southern Karṇāṭaka, more than once; but notwithstanding his claims of victory over them, he could not dislodge them from Gangapāḍi and parts of Noḷambapādi. Satyāśraya, who succeeded Taila, on his death in A.D. 997, followed the policy initiated by his father more vigorously. It is not unlikely that he entered into an alliance with Jaṭā Cōḷa Bhīma and helped him during his triumphant expedition to Kāñcī. Of this, however, there is no definite

1. JTA. ii. p. 402.

proof, though Rajārāja's simultaneous attack on Southern Karnāṭaka and Kaḷinga about A.D. 1002[1] suggests vaguely the existence of some sort of an understanding between the two rulers. However that may be, Satyāśraya did not approve of the Eastern Cāḷukya-Cōḷa alliance and the establishment the Cōḷa ascendency over Vēngī under the guise of friendship with the descendants of Dānārṇava. He resolved to strike at Vēngī before Śaktivarman could consolidate his power, and frustrate the Cōḷa attempts to dominate the coastal districts of the Telugu country. Accordingly he sent an army in A.D. 1006 under Bayal Nambi, one of the generals in his service, with instructions to reduce the Eastern Cāḷukya territory to subjection. Bayal Nambi entered Vēngī from the south-west, marched towards the Kṛṣṇā and having reduced the forts of Dharaṇikōṭa and Yanamadala to ashes, established himself at Cēbrōlu in the present Guntur district, which was then a city of considerable importance. The steps which Śaktivarman I had taken to repel the invaders are not known. The Cōḷa emperor, who must have seen that the blow was really aimed at him, concerted measures to compel Satyāśraya to withdraw his forces from Vēngī and sent an expedition under his son Rājēndra Cōḷa to Karṇāṭaka at the head of a large army. Rājēndra proceeded to Karṇāṭaka and devastated the country in utter disregard of the time-honoured traditions observed by the Hindu monarchs throughout the land. He ravaged the country and perpetrated the murders of women, children, and brahmans; and having forcibly seized women destroyed their caste.[2] Satyāśraya, the *Tiguḷa-māri* as he was, could

1. EI. x. Mb. 123.
2. *Dēsav-ellam sūre-goṇḍu strī vadhe bāla vadhe brāhmaṇa vadhegaḷam geydu peṇḍiram piḍidu jāti-nāśammāḍi Cōḷan-irppinam.*, (EI. xvi. p. 74). The sense of the passage is

not have easily driven back the Cōḷa army of nine-hundred thousand men, which like an ocean submerged his dominions. He must have gathered together all his forces including the army which he sent to invade Vēngī to eject the invaders from his kingdom. The withdrawal of the Karṇāṭakas from the east-coast freed Śaktivarman from the danger of foreign invasion. During the remaining years of his reign, he was left in the undisturbed possession of his territories. The reign of Śaktivarman I lasted for twelve years; and he seems to have died without issue in A.D. 1011, leaving his throne to his younger brother, Vimalāditya.

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not clearly brought out in Barnett's translation. He ignores the phrase *peṇḍiram piḍidu* which slightly alters the meaning of the succeeding words *jāti-nāśam-māḍi*. What the author of the inscription wants to convey is not the general overthrow of the order of the castes but of the women whom the Cōḷa captured obviously for the purpose of rape. That was why they lost caste.

CHAPTER XIX

VIMALĀDITYA

(A.D. 1011-1018)

On the death of his brother, Vimalāditya succeeded him without any trouble His coronation was celebrated in May, A.D. 1011. Vimalāditya appears to have been a colourless prince, quite satisfied with the conditions of life as he found them. His reign which lasted for seven years was utterly uneventful. The only facts known about him are his probable conversion to Jainism during his last years, and his marriage with two princess of the Cōḷa family. His first wife was Kundavai, the daughter of the Cōḷa Emperor Rājarāja, whom he married during the days of his exile, and got by her a son named Rājarāja, who succeeded him on the throne Mēḷama or Mēḍama, his second wife, was very probably a daughter of the Telugu Coḷa family; and by her also he had a son called Vijayāditya. In an inscription dated A.D. 1153, Srīyādēvī, the queen of Kāma Cōḍa of Koṇidena, claims that her mother Toṇḍidēvī was the daughter of a grand-daughter of Jaṭā Cḍōa and that her maternal uncle was Vijayāditya, the ruler of the Āndhra country.[1] It is not improbable that the Āndhra ruler, Vijayāditya, whom Srīyādēvī claims as her maternal uncle is identical with the Eastern Cālukya

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1. 188 of 1899 (SII. vi. No. 634.)

prince Vijayāditya, the son of Vimalāditya and the Cōḷa princess Mēḷama.[1] If the identification suggested here is not unreasonable, Vijayāditya may be taken to have been a grandson of Jaṭā Cōḍa Bhīma through his daughter Mēḷama, whom, after his overthrow, Vimalāditya had married. The deep-seated antagonism, which Vijayāditya later displayed towards his half-brother, Rājarāja, has to be attributed perhaps to his Telugu Cōḷa descent.

1. I am indebted to Mr. M. Venkataramayya M.A., M.Litt., for drawing my attention to this record and suggesting the possibility of this identification.

CHAPTER XX

RĀJARĀJA I

(A.D. 1019-1060).

On the death of Vimalāditya, his eldest son Rājarāja succeeded to the throne. Though several of his inscriptions, which are dated in the Śaka as well as his regnal years, definitely indicate that his reign commenced in A.D. 1019, his coronation was not celebrated, as a matter of fact, until A.D. 1022, three years later. The unaccountable interval between his accession and coronation has given rise to novel theories of chronology none of which, however, has thrown any real light on the problem. It was, as a matter of fact, due to dissensions which broke out in the country on the death of Vimalāditya. The succession to the throne was disputed. Cōḷa inscriptions from Kottaśīvaram and Madakasira taluk in the Anantapur district, dated in the 10th year of Rājēndra Cōḷa I refer to a Cōḷa invasion of Vēngī, which was led by Areyan Rājarājan *alias* Vikrama-Cōḷa Cōḻiyavaraiyan at the instance of his master. Cōḻiyavaraiyan, according to these inscriptions, compelled the king of Vēngī to flee from his country, destroyed the family of Jayasinga, and defeated in battle the Kaḷingas, the Telingas and the Oḍḍas.[1] It is obvious that during the years which elapsed between the accession and the coronation of Rājarāja, Vēngī was governed by a monarch who was hostile to the Cōḷas, and well-disposed towards their political opponents the Western Cāḷukyas, the Kaḷingas and Oḍḍas. This king could not have been Rājarāja; for the

1. ARE. 23, 24, 30, 31, 751, 752 of 1917.

available evidence points definitely to the contrary. Though his kinship to the Cōḷa emperor need not necessarily presuppose the existence of friendly relations, the performance of his *abhiṣēka*, which had been kept in abeyance since the time of the death of his father, immediately after the victories of Cōḻiyavaraiyan in A.D. 1022 clearly shows that he was friendly to the Cōḷas, and that they came to Vēṅgī on his behalf. A rival claimant, perhaps Rājarāja's half-brother, Vijayāditya, managed to seize the kingdom with the help probably of Jayasimha II, the Western Cāḷukya king of Kalyāṇi and of the rulers of Kaḷinga and Orissa. Rājarāja was helpless; and in his distress he seems to have turned to his maternal uncle and overlord, Rājēndra Cōḷa, for aid.

Rājēndra, who, after the death of Rājarāja the Great in A.D. 1016, ascended the Cōḷa throne, inherited from his father his imperialistic ambitions. He realised fully the strategic importance of Vēṅgī, in the inter-imperial struggle which was convulsing the peninsula at that time, and had no desire to allow her to fall into hostile hands. In addition to political interests, he was also impelled by strong family affection to take up the cause of his nephew and place him on the throne of his ancestral kingdom. The task was by no means easy. The usurper who ousted his nephew secured, as noticed already, powerful allies in the Deccan; and it was not likely that he would surrender Vēṅgī without an obstinate struggle. Keeping these facts in view, Rājēndra chalked out his plans with deliberation. He knew that the real enemy he had to contend against was not so much the usurper as his ally, the Western Cāḷukya Jayasimha II, who by reason of his military strength and vast resources was indeed formidable. Jayasimha was not an ally whom chance had thrown

into the arms of the usurper. He was the hereditary enemy of the Cōḷas. He took a deep and abiding interest in the affairs of Vēngī; and like his predecessors he was ceaseless in his efforts to overthrow the Cōḷa ascendancy and win over the country to his side. Now that a favourable turn of events had placed on the throne of Vēngī a king hostile to the Cōḷa, he was naturally expected to endeavour his utmost to keep him in power. Rājēndra therefore despatched simultaneously two expeditions to the north, one against Jayasimha II and the other against the usurper himself to prevent a possible combination of their forces. The former proceeded to Raṭṭapādi and struck at the heart of the Western Cāḷukya kingdom Jayasimha II, who attempted to defend his dominions, sustained a crushing defeat on the battle-field of Musangi in A.D. 1020-21. His power was temporarily crippled, and as a consequence he was not able to intervene in the affairs of Vēngī. The latter, which set out for Vēngī under the leadership of Areyan Vikrama-Cōḷa Cōḻiyavaraiyan, reached its destination without any incident and established contact with the forces of the enemy. Though the Cōḷa general prevailed ultimately, the progress of the conquest appears to have been slow. Two stages are definitely noticeable in the course of the campaign. At first, Cōḻiyavaraiyan seems to have concentrated his whole attention on the subjugation of Vēngī. Deprived of the assistance which he was expecting from the Western Cāḷukya monarch, the usurper was not able to hold his own against the Cōḷa army. His position had at last become so difficult that he was obliged to flee from the country and seek shelter at the court of his ally, the king of Kaḷinga.

With the conquest of Vēngī the first stage in the course of the campaign came to an end. The task

entrusted to Cōḻiyavaraiyan was not, however, fully accomplished The kingdom of Kaḷinga, where the usurper had taken refuge, was a dependency of Vēngī; and it was necessary that he should be dislodged from this retreat lest he should gather strength afresh and disturb the peace of the Cōḷa empire. Cōḻiyavaraiyan therefore advanced into Kaḷinga and opened the operations against the enemy. Meanwhile, the usurper who expected the arrival of the Cōḷa army in his wake, seems to have strengthened his position by gathering together all his followers including the auxiliary forces sent by his allies the kings of Kaḷinga and Orissa. Cōḻiyavaraiyan engaged, as stated in one of the Kottaśīvaram epigraphs, the combined forces of the 'Kaḷingas, Oḍḍas, and Telungas' in a battle[1], though nothing is known about the final outcome of the combat. There is reason to believe that Cōḻiyavaraiyan won a victory. The Kanyākumāri and the Charla Plates of Vīrarājēndra allude to the victories won by the generals of Rājēndra Coḷa I over the kings of Kulūt-Ōtkala and Kaḷinga together with the rulers of Vaṅga during the course of the Gangetic expedition.[2] As the

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1. ARE. 31 of 1917.

2. EI. xviii. pp. 53-4, xxv. p. 261. The *praśasti* in both the inscriptions is identical. The passage describing the victories mentioned above presents one or two small variations. In the place of *Viṁsēndra* and *palita* of the former, the latter has *Vaṁgēndra* and *ghaṭita* respectively. The verse, as it stands in the text of these inscriptions, does not, however, seem to fit in with the general trend of the *praśasti*. It must be borne in mind that this is a Cōḷa *praśasti*, and the verse under consideration occurs in the middle of the passage describing the exploits of Rājēndra Cōḷa I. What it relates,

Cōḷa generals are said to have proceeded thence to the banks of the Ganges, these victories must be assigned to the 10th year of Rājēndra Cōḷa (A.D. 1021), when the Gangetic expedition appears to have taken place.[1] The time at which these conquests are said to have been effected

however, is not an account of Rājēndra's victories but of the heroic deeds of an otherwise unknown king of Kulūt-Ōtkala ;—

Sva-sēnādhīśān=apratihata-Kulūt-Ōtakalapatiḥ
Kaḷimgān-Vaṁgēndrais=saha bahaḷa-vīryyān vidaḷayan
sa Gaṁgām-udgarjjan=nija-kari-ghatā-ghāṭita taṭān
ghaṭair-jahrē bhūbhṛn makuṭa-nihitair=uddhṛta-jalām.

The verse as it stands has to be construed thus :—

Āpratihata Kulūt-Ōtakala-patiḥ bahaḷa vīryyān svasēnādhīśān Kaḷingān Vaṁgēndrais=saha vidaḷayan sa=udgarjjan nija-karighaṭā-ghāṭita taṭān-Gamgām bhūbhṛn-makuṭa-nihitair-ghaṭair-uddhṛta-jalām jahrē—

The first half of the verse must therefore be altered slightly,— *Sva-sēnādhiśēn-āpratihata-Kulūt=Ōtkala-patim.*

1. Inscriptions dated in Rājēndra's 11th year (A.D. 1022) allude to the Gangetic expedition. Two inscriptions from Kolar in the Mysore State, both dated in the 11th year, are of special interest in this connection. While one of them (EC. x. Kl. 112 (a) refers only to the conquest of Pūrvadēśa (Udīcya-Odissa) and Gaṅgā (*Pūrva-dēsamum Gaṅgaiyum konḍa*, the other (EC. x. Cl. 47) adds Kaḍāram also. (*Pūrva-dēśamum Gaṅgaiyum Kaḍāramum-goṇḍa*). It is obvious that the conquest of Kaḍāram had already been effected by the 11th year. The conquest of Pūrvadēśam and the expedition to the Ganges which took place earlier must be assigned to the 10th year (A.D. 1021).

thus coincides roughly with Cōḻiyavaraiyan's campaign in Kaḷinga. It is not therefore unreasonable to presume that the campaign against Kulūt-Ōtkala and Kaḷinga referred to in the Kanyākumāri and Charala Plates is identical with that which Cōḻiyavaraiyan conducted against the Kaḷingas, Oḍḍas and Teluṅgas, in Rājēndra Coḷa's 10th regnal year.

The victories of Cōḻiyavaraiyan did not, however, result in the establishment of peace in the conquered countries; for, trouble arose once again as soon as he left them with the rest of the Cōḷa army on their march to the banks of the Ganges, owing probably to the machinations of the Western Cāḷukyas. The king of Orissa, whom Cōḻiyavaraiyan had subdued recently, rose up in rebellion at the instance of Jayasimha II and threatened to overthrow the Cōḷa power. According to the Tiruvālangāḍu Plates, which refer to this episode, Rājēndra Cōḷa proceeded, at the time when his victorious generals were on the banks of the Ganges, to the Gōdāvari with a desire to conquer the enemies, and tarried there sometime sporting in the waters of the river. While he was diverting himself in this fashion, the general whom he had despatched to the Ganges arrived at his camp with the holy waters, after having defeated king Mahīpāla on the way. Rājēndra Cōḷa next marched against the Oḍḍa (i.e. the king of Orissa), as he was carrying out the orders of Kalirāja, killed him in battle together with his younger brother and the army, and took possession of his elephants.[1] Why Rājēndra Cōḷa was suddenly beset with a desire to undertake an expedition of conquest to the banks of the Gōdāvarī, when his general, who had just then marched triumphantly through the country, was still

1. SII. iii. pp. 400, 425.

engaged in defeating the northern kings on the banks of the Ganges is not made clear by the language of the inscription. It is, however, obvious that it was rendered necessary by the hostile attitude of the king of Orissa, who appears to have threatened the rear of the Cōḷa army. The king of Orissa was not alone; he was acting, it is said, according to the orders of Kalirāja, who seems to have been powerful enough to cause perturbation in the mind of the Cōḷa emperor. No attempt has been made so far to establish the identity of this monarch. Very probably he was none other than the Western Cāḷukya king Jayasimha II himself. The Tiruvālangāḍu Plates refer, as a matter of fact, to Jayasimha as Kalyāśraya.[1] It is not therefore unlikely that Kalirāja, whose orders were obeyed by the king of Orissa, was identical with the Cōḷa emperor's irreconcilable enemy, the Western Cāḷukya Jayasimha II. However that may be, the king of Orissa, whether instigated by Jayasimha II, as suggested here, or tempted to make mischief by his own wicked nature, as assumed by the epigraphists[2], became hostile to the Cōḷas. The apprehension that he might attack the Cōḷa expeditionary force campaigning on the banks of the Ganges in the rear was natural under the circumstances. In order to avert any possible attack, Rājēndra Cōḷa found it necessary to proceed to the north at the head of another army.

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1. SII. iii. p. 399. Verse 100,—

   Cāḷukya-nātham=Jayasimha-rājaṁ
   svayam Kalēr=āśrayam=ākalayya
   Pūrv=āntam ēv=ābhijagāma jētum
   Rājēndra Cōḷaḥ Kalikāla-Kālaḥ.

2. Ibid. p. 425. n. 2.

The arrival of the Cōḷa emperor on the banks of the Gōdāvarī appears to have produced a sobering effect on the mind of the king of Orissa. The Gangetic expedition returned without any untoward incident. The Oḍḍa, must not, however, go unpunished for his contumacious conduct. Rājēndra Cōḷa then advanced at the head of his forces to Orissa, put to death the Oḍḍa with his younger brother, destroyed his army, and captured his war elephants which constituted the main source of his military power.[1]

1. The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri summarises the contents of verse 120 of the Tiruvālangāḍu Plates thus: "Here, Rājēndra Cōḷa is stated to have killed the wicked king of Oḍḍa and to have accepted as tribute from the surviving claimant, many rutting elephants." (SII. iii. p. 388). In support of this, he cites the well-known Mahēndragiri inscription with the following observation: 'The Mahēndragiri Tamil inscription, which bears the Cōḷa insignia of the tiger and the two fish, and records the defeat of the Kulūta chief Vimalāditya, by a general of Rājēndra Cōḷa I, must be referred to this campaign of the king (Ibid. n. 6). This is, indeed, surprising. In the first place, there is no mention of a 'surviving claimant,' nor any reference to the offer or acceptance of tribute in the Tiruvālangāḍu Plates. The Oḍḍa, it is explicity stated, was killed with his brother, his army was destroyed and his elephants were captured by the Cōḷa monarch. (v. 120). Secondly, the Mahēndragiri inscription, which is pressed into service, has absolutely no connection whatever with this campaign. It refers not merely to the defeat, as stated by Mr. Krishna Sastri, but to the capture of Vimalāditya, whereas the Tiruvālangāḍu Plates make it pretty clear that the Oḍḍa king and his brother were both killed.

After a warfare of three years, Rājēndra succeeded ultimately in putting down the disturbances which broke out on the death of Vimalāditya and restoring peace and order in Vēngī. He then gave his daughter Ammangai in marriage to his nephew Rājarāja and having re-established him on the throne of his father, celebrated his coronation with becoming pomp and pageantry on 16th August, A.D. 1022.

The reign of Rājarāja, which thus began inauspiciously, has to pass through a period of continued political unrest. Throughout his long rule of forty and odd years he was continuously beset with troubles, owing mainly to the opposition of his younger brother Vijayāditya. He lost his throne more than once and had to wander as an exile perhaps in the Cōḷa dominions seeking help. The Cōḷas supported him steadily during his early days; but after the death of his maternal uncle and father-in-law Rājēndra Cōḷa I, he seems to have been left pretty much to his own devices in organising the defence of his kingdom.[1]

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1. The indifference of the successors of Rājēndra Cōḷa I to the affairs of Vēngī is made clear in the inscriptions of Vīrarājēndra. In his Charala Plates, for instance, it is said,—

Bhrātṛbhyām sam=upēkṣitam janapadam vamśa-kram-ābhyāgatam krāntam vairi-mahīśvarair=atibalair-v-Vēngīn=Kaḷimgān-api.

—EI. xxv. p. 262.

This was not due, perhaps, so much to their indifference as to their inability to dislodge the Western Cāḷukyas from Vēngī; for almost all the wars of Rājādhirāja I with the Western Cāḷukyas were undertaken with the object of driving them out ultimately from Vēngī.

The first few years of Rājarāja's reign after his coronation appear to have been peaceful, though little is known about what happened at that time. The Pāmulavāka Plates, which lift the veil of obscurity for the first time, reveal that, as a consequence of a political revolution which took place some eight years after his coronation, the sovereignty of Vēngī changed hands once again; and Rājarāja was driven out of the kingdom by his half-brother, who assumed the title of Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya and crowned himself king on 27th June, A.D. 1031. The circumstances under which this revolution broke out are shrouded in mystery. Although the circumstances in which Vijayāditya succeeded in ousting his brother and taking forcible possession of the kingdom are not mentioned in the inscription, it is not difficult to conjecture how he managed to do so. He was, no doubt, an able prince and a doughty warrior; but without some powerful external help, he could not have achieved his object. There is reason to believe that the Western Cāḷukya king Jayasimha II espoused his cause and sent an army to conquer the kingdom on his behalf. The Kalidiṇḍi Plates of Rājarāja, which were in all probability issued about this time refer to a Western Cāḷukyan invasion of Vēngī during which the invaders occupied the major part, if not the whole, of the kingdom. It was probably at this time that Daṇḍanāyaka Cāvaṇṇarasa, the Kannaḍa-Sāndhivigrahi of Jayasimha II captured the fort of Bejavāḍa.[1] Rājarāja was not able to oppose the invaders; he therefore sent an appeal to the Cōḷa court for help. As soon as the news of the Western Cāḷukya invasion

1. EI. xvi. No. 11, p 77. As the inscription is dated A.D. 1037, the capture of Bejavāḍa mentioned in it must have taken place earlier

of Vēngī reached Gangāpurī, the Cōḷa capiatl, Rājēndra Cōḷa I despatched a strong army under the command of his Brahman general, Rājarāja Brahma Mahārāja, together with two other officers, Uttama Cōḍa Cōḍa-kōn and Uttama Cōḍa Milāḍ-uḍaiyān. The Cōḷa army marched without any incident, and reaching Vēngī quickly attacked the Western Cāḷukya army near the village of Kalidiṇḍi in the neighbourhood of the old Eastern Cāḷukya capital. A sanguinary fight ensued. Though contested fiercely, the battle ended indecisively. As all the generals, who were engaged in the fight on either side, perished on the battle-field, neither party could claim victory.[1] Though the Western Cāḷukyas were not victorious in the battle, it was tantamount to a defeat to the Cōḷas; for they failed to dislodge the Western Cāḷukyas from Vēngī and re-establish Rājarāja in his kingdom. What actually happened after the battle of Kalidiṇḍi is not known. The Cōḷas seem to have prevailed ultimately against their enemies. As Rājarāja was able to set up three memorial temples in honour of the three Cōḷa generals, who laid down their lives on the battle-field of Kalidiṇḍi, he was obviously restored to his kingdom; and this could not have happened, unless the Cōḷas regained their military ascendency, and re-established their authority over Vēngī. It is not possible to ascertain when and

1. Bhārati. xx. p. 439.

Ētat Dramiḷa-daṇḍanāthānām Rājarāja Brahma Mahārāja-nāmadhēyō sva-mātulasya Madhurāntaka-dēvasy=ātulasy=ādēśam prāpya Karṇāṭaka-daṇḍanāthair=yuddhvā tair-ēva sārdham divam gatavān.

As Rājarāja is said to have built at Kalidiṇḍi a memorial temple for each of the three Cōḷa generals, it is obvious that all the three died fighting on the battle-field.

how the Cōḷas managed to dislodge the Western Cāḷukyas from the Coastal Telugu country and reinstate Rājarāja in his kingdom. This took place probably about A.D. 1035.[1]. Perhaps, the Cōḷa emperor sent another expedition to Vēngī, this time under the command of his valiant son and heir-apparent Rājādhirāja, who succeeded in defeating the Western Cāḷukya armies and driving them out of the country.[2]

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1. ARE. 482-k of 1893 (SII. v. 82). It records a gift of land to the temple of Rājanārāyaṇa at Cāḷukya-Bhīmapura by Sarvalōkāśraya Śri Viṣṇuvardhana (Mahārāja ?) Srī Rājarājadēva; and at the end (l. 39) it refers to the 16th year of some unspecified chief or king. '[*Sam*] *vaccaramulu* 16 *śrāhi* etc.' It is not unlikely that the 16th year mentioned here refers itself to the reign of Rājarāja who set up the inscription. In that case, the restoration of Rājarāja must have taken place either in that year itself or a little earlier.
2. The '*Tingaḷer-taru*' *Praśasti* of Rājādhirāja I mentions a Vikramanāraṇa,—also called Cakravarti Vikramanāraṇa in some inscriptions (SII. v. 641)—as the earliest enemy whom he defeated, and assumed, as a consequence of this victory, the title Būpēndra Cōḷa. (SII. v. 520). This event appears to have happened in the time of Rājendra Cōḷa I himself, even before the outbreak of the rebellion of the *Tennavar Mūvar*, the Three Southern Powers. (*Tātai mun-vanda pōtalar Vikramanāraṇan* etc.'). Though the identity of this prince is not definitely known, there is no doubt that he was connected with the Western Cāḷukyas; for he was at the head of the Western Cāḷukya armies fighting again with Rājādhirāja I later at Pūṇḍūr-kaṭaka. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that Rājādhirāja came into conflict with Vikramanāraṇa in an unrecorded expedition against the Western Cāḷukyas which he had undertaken during the later

The events of Rājarāja's reign subsequent to his restoration in A.D. 1035 are shrouded in obscurity. Between the dubiously dated epigraph of the 16th year at Cāḷukya Bhīmavaram and the Drākṣārāmam inscription of the 21st year (A.D. 1047),[1] very little is known about the activities of the king or of the affairs of his kingdom. An entry in a Cōḷa inscription, dated in the 32nd year of the reign of Rājādhirāja I, registers a gift of 200 *māḍas*, which the Piḷḷaiyār Viṣṇuvardhanadēva made to the temple of Lōkamahādēvīśvaram-Uḍaiyār at Tiruvaiyyāru in the Tanjore district, in the 27th year of Rājēndra Cōḷa I (A.D. 1039).[2] Tiruvaiyyāru was a well-known centre of pilgrimage. Moreover, it was also the headquarters of the Eastern Cāḷukya royal family in the Cōḷa country, where most of their records are found. In view of the fact that such donations are usually made on the occasion of the donor's visit to the temple concerned, it may be presumed that Rājarāja was in the Cōḷa country at that time. The circumstances which rendered at that time a visit to the Cōḷa country necessary are not known. Was he attacked by the

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years of his father's reign. As the only known place, where, during the later years of Rājēndra Cōḷa, the Cōḷas encountered the Western Cāḷukyas was Vēngi, it is not unlikely that Rājadhirāja's first fight with Vikramanāraṇa took place there. The designation *Cakravarti* 'emperor,' which is prefixed to the name Vikramanāraṇa, is indeed significant. He was perhaps identical with Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara I, who was probably commanding the Western Cāḷukya armies in Vēngi, where Rājādhirāja came into conflict with him and worsted him in the fight.

1. ARE. 183 of 1893, SII. iv. 1008.

2. SII. v. 520.

Western Cāḷukyas once again? No definite answer is possible to this question in the present state of our knowledge.

The fortunes of Rājarāja soon underwent a change. The death of Jayasimha II in A.D. 1042 and of Rājēndra Cōḷa two years later in A.D. 1044; and the accession in their place of Trailōkyamalla Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara I and Rājādhirāja I to the Western Cāḷukya and the Cōḷa thrones respectively let loose the dogs of war once again, and Vēngī became the bone of contention. In the fierce struggle that ensued, the Western Cāḷukyas gained the upperhand, and notwithstanding the persistent onslaughts of the Cōḷas maintained firmly their hold on Vēngī for more than two decades. The contemporary Cōḷa inscriptions clearly state that the kingdom of Vēngī together with Kaḷinga which formed part of it was lost by the Cōḷas after the death of Rājēndra Cōḷa I and remained in the possession of the enemy *i.e.*, the Western Cāḷukyas until the time of its reconquest by Vīrarājēndra in the 7th year of his reign (A D. 1044—67).[1] This is corroborated by the evidence of the Western Cāḷukya inscriptions. An unpublished record in the Hyderābād State Museum dated A.D. 1047, while enumerating the exploits of Sōmēśvara I, states that he pulverized in battle the kings of Vēngī and Kaḷinga. In another record, dated three years earlier in A D. 1044, Śōbhanarasa, a feudatory of Sōmēśvara I, styles himself *Vēngī-puravarēśvara*, *i.e.*, the lord of the city of Vēngī, a title which was subsequently borne by Bhuvanaikamalla Sōmēśvara II, the son and successor of Sōmēśvara I.[2]

1. EI. xxv. p. 262.

2. LR. 25. p. 90, SII. Bk. xi. i. 84 (A.D. 1049), EI. xvi. pp. 55-56 (A.D. 1053), SII. Bk. xi. i. p. 90 (A.D. 1054).

These records clearly show that Sōmēśvara I not only conquered Vēngī in A.D. 1044, but also made arrangements to safeguard his own interests in the conquered kingdom by appointing at first one of his nobles and later his own son and heir as its military governor. The whole of Vēngī does not, however, seem to have passed into the hands of Sōmēśvara I; for, according to an inscription in the temple of Bhīmēśvara at Drākṣārāmam in East Gōdāvarī district, Rājarāja was still ruling the kingdom in A.D. 1047.[1] Notwithstanding the Western Cāḷukya conquest, Rājarāja was probably still in possession of a part of his kingdom.

The Cōḷas who regarded Vēngī and Kaḷinga as their hereditary possessions[2] did not remain idle. The loss of Vēngī seems to have weighed very heavily upon the heart of Rājādhīrāja. During the nine or ten years for which he ruled as the sole sovereign of the Cōḷa empire, he never allowed himself rest and waged war upon Āhavamalla more or less continuously, until he laid down his own life in A.D. 1054 on the battle-field of Koppam in a vain attempt to break down the latter's power. The inscriptions of Rājādhirāja I enumerate no less than five wars against Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara I, but excepting two, they have no direct bearing on the affairs of Vēngī. The earlier of the two, took place in A D. 1044-45, at the very commencement of Rājādhirāja's reign. The Western Cāḷukya conquest of Vēngī was just then completed, and large army

1. ARE. 183 of 1893, SII. iv. 1008.

2. EI. xxv. p. 262.

..............*janapadam vaṁśa-kram=abhyāgatam*

krāntam vairi-mahśivarair=atibaḷair=vVēngīn=Kaḷiṁgān=api.

was stationed in the country to protect it from the Cōḷa invasion which was expected to arrive at any time. Rājādhirāja marched at the head of his army, and reached Dannāḍa (*i.e.*, Dharaṇikōṭa), an important stronghold on the Kṛṣṇā, where the Western Cāḷukya forces were massed under the leadership of capable generals such as Vikramāditya, Vijayāditya, Gaṇḍappayya, Gangādhara, Śāngamayya and others. In a fierce engagement which took place at Dannāḍa, the Western Cāḷukyas sustained a defeat.[1] Gaṇḍappayya and Gangādhara, who were probably in charge of the Cāḷukya elephant corps, perished in the battle with a large number of war elephants; and Vikramāditya and Vijayāditya together with Śāngamayya fled like cowards from the field. The victorious Cōḷa army plundered the camp of the enemy, and much booty including treasures, elephants and horses fell into their hands. Rājādhirāja next advanced, probably in the wake of the retreating Cāḷukya forces, upon Koḷḷippākkai in the Nalgoṇḍa district of the

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1. *Tannāḍayil jayam-goṇḍu.* Hultzsch renders the expression into English as 'achieved victory in his garment' (SII. iii. p. 56). It makes no sense. Tannāḍai or Dannāḍai is evidently the name of the place, where the victory was won. Dannāḍa was, in fact, an important fort on the Kṛṣṇā in the Guntur district, which was a target of the Western Cāḷukya attacks during their invasions of Vēngi. (SII. vi. 102). It also figures frequently in the Reḍḍi-Velama wars of the 14th century. In the *Velugōṭivārivaṁśāvaḷi*, it is referred to as Dannaḍa-kōṭa, Dannala-kōṭa or Dannāla-kōṭa. Dannāḍa is obviously an abridged form of Dhānyavāḍa, which was also known as Dhānyavāṭi or Dhānya-kaṭaka (the modern Amarāvati in the Guntur district) in ancient times.

present Hyderabad State, and set fire to the city.[1] Though the invasion is described as a triumphant march of the irresistible Cōḷa forces, it was not perhaps as successful as it is made to appear in the Cōḷa inscriptions of the time. It is interesting to note that Rājādhirāja, notwithstanding his brilliant victory over the Western Cāḷukya forces at Dannāḍa, did not march into Vēngī and liberate it, though it was, as pointed out already, in their possession at the time. The attack upon Koḷḷippākkai also appears to have been beaten off; a certain Singaṇadēvarsa, the governor of Banavāsi and Śāntalige under Sōmēśvara I, claims, in an inscription dated A.D. 1046, to have protected Koḷḷippākkai from the enemy.[2] If there is any truth in this assertion, it must be conceded that the Western Cāḷukyas appear to have made a firm stand at Koḷḷippākkai against the Cōḷas and turned them back to their own country. Though the invasion served to demonstrate the Cōḷa armed might, it failed to secure any political or territorial gain.

How Rājarāja engaged himself during these momentous years is not known. Though very little is said about him in the records of the time, he could not have remained inactive, when the future of his kingdom was at stake. Notwithstanding the Western Cāḷukya conquest of his kingdom, he appears to have held his own in some parts of the country, as shown by an epigraph in the Bhīmēśvara temple at Drākṣārāmam dated Śaka 969 (A.D. 1047) corresponding to his 26th regnal year.[3]

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1. ARE. 54 of 1893, SII. iv. 827.
2. EC. vii. Sk. 323.
3. ARE. 183 of 1893, SII. iv. 1008.

The history of Rājādhirāja's second invasion is much more obscure. It is vaguely referred to in the records dated in his 33rd year (A.D, 1051). An entry in an inscription at Tiruvaiyāṟu, dated in the 32nd year (A.D. 1050) of Rājādhirāja, registers a gift of 300 *Rāja-rāja-māḍas* to the local temple of Śiva by the Piḷḷaiyār Viṣṇuvardhanadēva.[1] The Piḷḷaiyār Viṣṇuvardhanadēva mentioned here, is no doubt, Rājarāja and he seems to have paid a visit to the Cōḷa court at that time, though the reason for it is not quite evident. It is not unlikely that Rājarāja's journey to the Cōḷa country was undertaken to secure help. Probably Rājarāja found that his position in the country was becoming more and more precarious. He wanted perhaps to persuade the Cōḷa emperor to free his kingdom from the grip of the Western Cāḷukyas. The fact that the Cōḷa emperor led an expedition to Vēngī in the very next year lends colour to this view. Much is not known about the expedition itself. It is stated in the inscriptions of Rājādhirāja's 33rd year (A.D. 1051) that he lay encamped at Dannāḍa, where he accepted the dedication of a Tamil *Paraṇi* poem.[2] The presence of Rājādhirāja at Dannāḍa is a clear proof of his invasion of Vēngī, though nothing is known of the events that might have taken place at the time. It is interesting to note that Rājādhirāja proceeded from his camp at Dannāḍa to Raṭṭappāḍi Seven-and-half lakh country; and after crossing the rivers Śiruturai, Perundurai and Tayvi-Vīmarasi

1. ARE. 221 of 1894, SII. v. 520.

2. ARE. 415 of 1902, SII. vii. 1048. '*Tannāḍayiṟ=ṟamiḻa-paraṇi koṇḍu.*' Now, *Paraṇi* is a poem about a hero who destroys '1000' elephants in war. It is obvious that the Paraṇi mentioned here was devoted to the description of the warlike activities of Rājādhirāja himself.

he arrived at Ēttagiri in the Gulbarga district of the present Hyderabad State, where he planted a pillar of victory. Dannāḍa, it must be pointed out, was not situated on the direct route of the Cōḷa armies invading the Raṭṭappāḍi Seven-and-half lakh country, but in Vēngī, far to the east of it. The fact that Rājādhirāja marched at first to Dannāḍa shows that the original objective of his attack was not Raṭṭapāḍi but Vēngī. The silence of the Cōḷa records about Rājādhirāja's exploits on this occasion at Dannāḍa, or in any other place in the neighbourhood seems to indicate the failure of the Cōḷa armies to make headway against the Western Cāḷukyas. To make up perhaps for the loss of prestige, Rājādhirāja made a sudden dash upon Raṭṭapāḍi and attacked them at a place where they least expected him.

The repeated failures of the Cōḷa emperor to free Vēngī from the Western Cāḷukyan yoke seems to have disillusioned Rājarāja. His own helplessness and the inability of the Cōḷa emperor to overthrow his enemies seem to have brought about a change in his attitude. He saw clearly that under the circumstances it was futile to persist in his opposition to the Western Cāḷukyas. He might, by his persistent hostility, lose his kingdom completely, and the chances of regaining it were very remote indeed. He considered it expedient to conciliate the enemy, and bide his time until circumstances became favourable to throw them out. Rājarāja, therefore, opened negotiations with Śōmēśvara I and concluded with him a treaty, according to which he was allowed to rule his kingdom on condition that he acknowledged Śōmēśvara's supremacy and accepted him as his overlord.

Two important facts which indicate the existence of friendly relations between Sōmēśvara I and Rājarāja

must be mentioned in this connection. Sōmēśvara, in the first place, had a representative in the court of Rājarāja. It may be noted that Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, one of Sōmēśvara's *pradhānis*, figures in an inscription dated 1055-56 at Drākṣārāmam.[1] He was also a great poet, and a fellow student of Nannaya Bhaṭṭa, Rājarāja's poet laureate, whom he helped in the composition of the *Āndhra Mahābhārata*. Rājarāja granted him in A.D. 1051-52 the village of Nandamapūṇḍi, as a reward for his labours. Secondly, Rājarāja assumed some of the characteristic Western Cāḷukya titles to betoken his friendship. He is addressed by Nannayya Bhaṭṭa as *Samastabhuvanāśraya* and *Satyāśraya-kula-śēkhara* in the concluding verses of the fourth canto of the *Ādiparvam* of his *Āndhra Mahābhārata*.[2] The former occurs in the Maṇḍa Grant of Rājarāja as the official designation of the donee, Aṅkaya, who was known to his contemporaries as *Samastabhuvanāśraya Brahmamahārāja*,[3] Evidently Rājarāja, whom Aṅkaya served as *Brahmamahārāja* had the title of *Samastabhuvanāśraya*, which was prefixed to Aṅkaya's official designation, when he was appointed to the office of *Brahmamahārāja*. Though the title *Samastabhuvanāśraya* is usually met with in the preamble to the inscriptions of the Western Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi, it was not originated by them. It occurs occasionally in the Eastern Cāḷukya records, *e.g.*, in an inscription of Amma II Vijayāditya.[4] This, however,

1. ARE. 183 of 1893, SII. iv. 1010.
2. *Āndhra-Mahābhāratam, Ādiparvam*, 4, 274.
3. Bhārati. xx. part ii. p. 192.
4. JAHRS. ii. 247.

Saḥ Śrī Samastabhuvanāśraya Śrī Vijayāditya Mahārāja Paramēśvaraḥ.

is not a characteristic title regularly borne by the Eastern Cāḷukyan kings and its assumption is probably due to some extraneous influence. The adoption of this long forgotten title must be attributed to Rājarāja's association with the Western Cāḷukya court. More significant than this is his assumption of the title *Satyāśrayakulaśēkhara* which, of course, is a variant of *Sātyāśrayakulatilaka*, the epithet commonly employed by the Cāḷukyas of Kālyāṇi, to describe their lineage. Rājarāja, no doubt, had as much right to make use of the name as the rulers of Kalyāṇi since he was also a lineal descendant of Satyāśraya Pulakēśin I, the founder of the Cāḷukya kingdom of Bādāmi. It must be noted, however, that Rājarāja was the only monarch of his line to assume these titles together, which by that time became specially associated with the rulers of Kalyāṇi. These considerations lend support to the belief that Rājarāja assumed the titles as a complement to the Western Cāḷukya monarch of whom he became by force of circumstances a dependent.

Rājarāja was obliged to remain loyal to Śōmēśvara until the end of his reign. The Cōḷas were not in a position to send him help and free him from subordination to his new overlord. Though they were engaged frequently in a war with Sōmēśvara I, they could not gain any advantage over him. They sustained, on the contrary, a serious defeat at Koppam or some other place, which involved the loss of the Gangavāḍi province. In these circumstances, help could not come from the Cōḷas; and Rājarāja had no alternative excepting submission to his new master.

Rājarāja's reign seems to have come to an end in A.D. 1061-62. It is stated in the contemporary Eastern Cāḷukya inscriptions that after the death (*parōkṣē*) of

Rājarāja, after he had ruled for full forty one years, his half brother, Vijayāditya, took forcible possession of the kingdom, and installed his own son, Śaktivarman II on the throne.

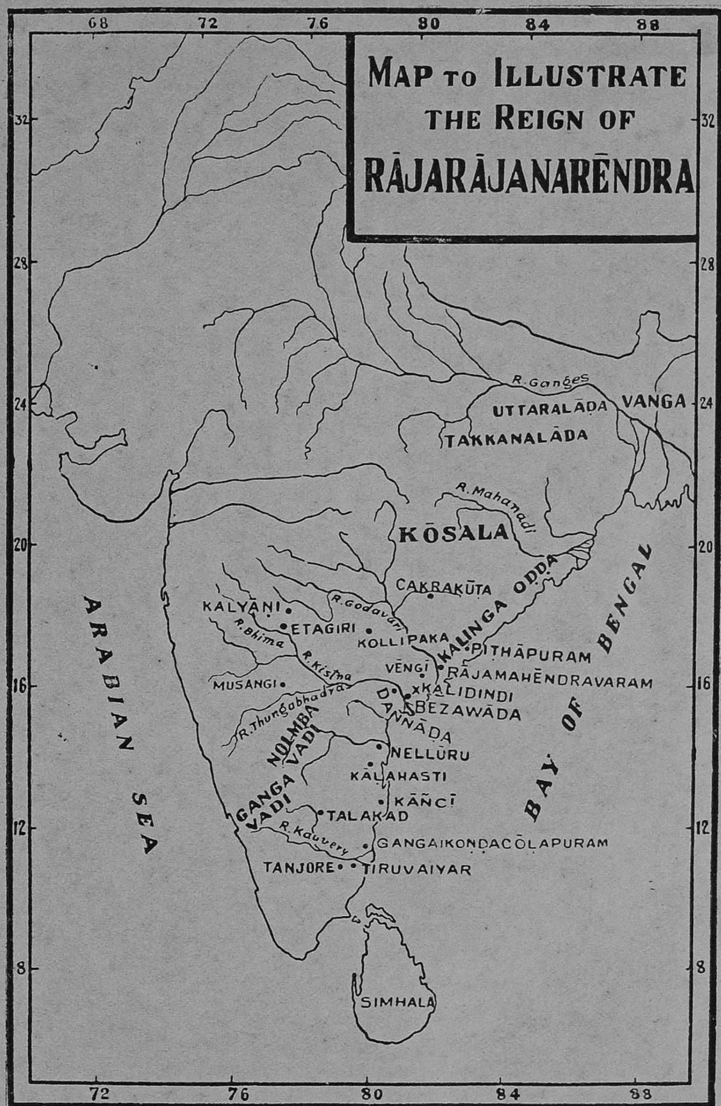
Though Rājarāja seems to have died peacefully, the language of the inscriptions clearly indicates that it was followed by a war.[1] During his long rule of forty-one years, he rarely enjoyed peace. The sinister designs of his half-brother, coupled with the conflicting ambitions of the rival imperial powers, converted his fertile kingdom into a perpetual battle field. Rājarāja was, indeed, a plaything of fortune. He lost and regained his kingdom, became a dependent by turns of the Cōḷas and the Cāḷukyas. Though subjected frequently to the buffets of misfortune, he seems to have borne his lot with patient resignation, and submitted to the inevitable, when it was no longer possible for him to hold his own.

Rājarāja was a cultured and enlightened monarch. Though ardently devoted to the worship of the God Śiva, he was not narrow-minded and tyrannical. He extended his patronage to the followers of all sects, and endeavoured to uphold the ancient *dharma* based on *varṇas* and *āśramas*. He encouraged, by generous gifts of land and money, the study of the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and the performance of Vēdic sacrifices on which depended, according to the beliefs prevalent in his day, the prosperity of the kingdom. Educated on liberal principles, he was proficient in several branches of knowledge. He was conversant with the *Purāṇas*, well-versed in the *Āgamas*, and familiar with the

1. JAHRS. v. p. 44, ix. Part i. p. 31.

Parōkṣē Rājarājasya bhrātur-dvaimāturasya yaḥ
pratyagrahīt mahīrājya-śriyam vīraśriyā yutaḥ.

principles of æsthetics. Above all he loved poetry and drama and was fond of the company of poets and learned men. Rājarāja admired greatly the heroes of the Mahābhārata, and was never tired of listening to the exploits of the Pāṇḍavas from whom he traced his descent. Being dissatisfied with the distorted versions of the Mahābhārata story current in the land, Rājarāja resolved to place before his people the genuine account of his great ancestors and authorised his court poet and *purōhit*, Nannaya Bhaṭṭa, to translate the famous epic of Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana Vyāsa into Telugu so that all might read and understand it. Though Rājarāja was only prompted by a desire to proclaim the greatness of his heroic ancestors and his own illustrious lineage through the Telugu version of Vyāsa's Mahābhārata, he laid unconsciously, as it were, the foundations of the Telugu literature. This is the greatest service which Rājarāja rendered to his people; and his fame as a great monarch depends to a large extent on this literary enterprise started by him.



MAP TO ILLUSTRATE
THE REIGN OF
RĀJARĀJANARĒNDRA
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72
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88
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24
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16
12
8
R. Ganges
UTTARALĀḌA
VANGA
TAKKANALĀDA
R. Mahanadi
KŌSALA
CAKRAKŪTA
ODDA
KALINGA
BAY OF BENGAL
ARABIAN SEA
KALYĀṆI
R. Godavari
ETAGIRI
KOLLIPAKA
R. Bhima
PITHĀPURAM
R. Kistna
VĒNGĪ
RĀJAMAHĒNDRAVARAM
MUSANGI
R. Thungabhadra
KALIDINDI
DANNĀDA
BEZAWĀDA
NOLMBA VADI
NELLŪRU
KĀLAHASTI
GANGA VADI
KĀÑCĪ
TALAKAD
R. Kauvery
GANGAIKONḌACŌLAPURAM
TANJORE
TIRUVAIYAR
SIMHALA

APPENDIX

ON THE DATE OF THE KALIDINDI PLATES OF RĀJARĀJA

The date of this record cannot be fixed with absolute certainty, owing to the mutilation of the last plate in which it must have been given; but it is not impossible to discover the probable time of its issue with the help of the data furnished by the plates as well as the contemporaneous Cōḷa and the Western Cāḷukya records. The Kalidiṇḍi Plates mention two important facts :—(1) that the coronation of Rājarāja was celebrated on August 16, A.D. 1022, and (2) that as soon as the news of the Western Cāḷukya invasion of the Āndhra country reached the Cōḷa court, an army was sent to oppose it by Rājēndra Cōḷa I. As Rājēndra Cōḷa I continued to rule until A.D. 1044, the invasion must have taken place between A.D. 1022 and 1044. The probable time when, during this interval of twenty-two years, this invasion could have taken place must now be determined

The Government Epigraphist is of opinion that the inscription was 'issued shortly after the king's accession to the throne in Śaka 944 (A.D. 1022)'.[1] This date cannot be accepted, as it is too early for the record. In the first place, the Western Cāḷukyas, who suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Cōḷas on the battle-field of Muśangi in A.D. 1021-22, could not have sent an expedition to Vēngī so soon after their defeat. It cannot be presumed that the invasion under consideration took

1. ARE. 1937-38. Part ii. para 14.

place earlier, say, about the time of the battle of Muśangi. Although there was an earlier Cōḷa expedition to Vēngī in the 10th year of Rājēndra Cōḷa I, as stated in Kottaśīvaram records, that could not be identical with the one referred to in the Kalidiṇḍi Plates, for, the commanders of the two expeditions were different. Whereas the the former was led by Vikramaśōḷa Śōḻiyavaraiyan against the king of Vēngī, Telungaṣ, Kaḷingas and Oḍḍas; the latter was led by Rājarāja Brahma Mahārāja, Uttama Cōḍa Cōḍakōn, and Uttama Cōḍa Milāḍ Uḍaiyān against the Western Cāḷukya invaders in the Vēngī country. Though, according to the Tiruvālangāḍu Plates, there was another Cōḷa expedition immediately after, that was commanded by Rājēndra Cōḷa I personally, and was directed against the Kulūt-Ōtkala king. Secondly, in the Pāmulavāka Plates, it is stated that before A.D. 1031 Rājarāja ruled over Vēngī continuously for a period of twelve years; and there is no evidence to show that, between his coronation in A.D. 1022 and the usurpation of Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya in A.D. 1031, Vēngī was disturbed by any foreign invader.

The Cōḷa and the Western Cāḷukya inscriptions of the period which are fairly numerous do not throw any light on the subject. They do not refer to any conflict between the two powers subsequent to the battle of Muśangi. The '*tirumanni vaḷara*' *praśasti* of Rājēndra Cōḷa I, which is seen in its fully developed form in the inscriptions of the 13th year, remains unaltered up to the end of his reign; and it does not allude to any war with the Western Cāḷukyas after the victory at Muśaṅgi. However, a record dated in his 24th year describes a war with Āhavamalla later than the Gangetic expedition; but this is a composite document made up of

the *praśastis* of Rājēndra I and his son Rājēndra II; and as the part of the present record dealing with the war on Ahavamalla agrees word for word with some of the inscriptions of Rājēndra II, it cannot be taken into consideration in this context.[1]

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1. Cōḷas i. pp. 232-33.

In an inscription dated in the 24th year, the '*tirumanni vaḷara*' *praśasti* takes a peculiar turn after the mention of Takkaṇalāḍam. It then proceeds to narrate Rājēndra's relations with the Ceylonese and the Cāḷukya. Curiously enough Rājēndra is spoken of here as Rājakēsari instead of the usual Parakēsari. The inscription under consideration is a composite record; it embodies, as a matter of fact, a combination of the *praśastis* of two kings of the same name. Up to *Takkaṇa-lāḍam* in l. 8 (SII. iv. No. 223), it is undoubtedly the well-known '*tirumanni vaḷara*' *praśasti* of Rājēndra Cōḷa I; but from that place onwards, the *praśasti* of another Rājēndra Cōḷadēva is tacked on to it. A number of princes such as Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Cōḷa, Mummuḍi Cōḷa, Vīra Cōḷa, Madhurāntaka Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya, Karikāla Cōḷa, Uttama Cōḷa, and Irmuḍi Cōḷan-Rājarājan, on whom the king conferred benefits are mentioned. Most important of all is the son of the king Rājēndra Cōḷa. It is evident that this part of the *praśasti* belongs to Rājēndra II. This is confirmed by the concluding portion, which alludes to the battle of Muḍakkāṟu, and the defeat of the Cāḷukyas twice (ll. 14-15). But the most puzzling part of the record is the association of the title Rājakēsari with Rājēndra Cōḷa. Neither of the two Rājēndras was a Rājakēsari. Rājamahēndra, the son of Rājēndra II, and the hero of the battle of Muḍakkāṟu was, of course, a Rājakēsari and he was also called Rājēndra Cōḷa; but there are several insuperable

This does not, however, rule out the possibility of a conflict between the two powers during the interval. The only occasion when it could have taken place was at the time of the usurpation of Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya in A.D. 1031. Without some powerful external help, Vijayāditya could not have overcome his brother and seized Vēngī; and the only power which could have helped him in the enterprise was the Western Cāḷukya monarch of Kalyāṇi. Therefore, the Karṇāṭaka or the Western Cāḷukya invasion of Vēngī may be assigned to A.D. 1031, and the battle of Kalidiṇḍi where the Cōḷa army encountered the Western Cāḷukyas to the succeeding year.

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difficulties, which preclude the possibility of the identification of Rājamahēndra with Rājakēsarivarman Rājēndra Cōḷa of the present inscription.

CHAPTER XXI

ŚAKTIVARMAN II

Vijayāditya did not immediately begin to rule the kingdom which he had so eagerly seized. He installed his only son, Śaktivarman II on the throne. The reason for this is stated to have been the great love which he bore to his son. That perhaps was not the only reason. Vijayāditya was obliged to absent himself from Vēṅgī; and it was not quite safe to entrust the realm to a deputy, while his late brother's son, Rājēndra, who was at the Cōḷa court, was sure to make a bid for the kingdom. He therefore, deemed it advisable to crown his son, and leave him with the help of his ministers to carry on the administration. Vijayāditya, it may be remembered, was a subordinate and *aṅkakāṟa* of the Western Cāḷukya Sōmēśvara I. He was a great soldier, who won considerable distinction in the Cōḷa wars; and in his capacity of *aṅkakāṟa*, it was his duty to represent his master on the battle-field and champion his cause.[1] The Cōḷas, who

1. The *aṅkakāṟa* had, when called upon to do so, to lead armies to battle on behalf of his master. The poet Pampa, who flourished about the middle of the 10th century A.D., furnishes an instance. Bappuva the younger brother of Kakkala, the Haihaya king of Cēdi, having resolved to wage war upon Pampa's patron, Arikēśarin II of Lēmulavāḍa, is said to have despatched his *aṅkakāṟa* at the head of an army against him. *Samada-Gajaghaṭāṭōpadim berasu nelan adire vaṁdu tāgida Kakkalana tamman-appa Bappuvan-aṅka-kāṟam=omde madāṁdha-gaṁdha-Siṁdhuradōḷ = ōḍisida vairigaja-ghaṭa-vighaṭṭanan=adaṭamuṁ* (Pampa: *Vikramarjuna Vijayam* 9 : 57 f).

remained inactive since the battle of Koppam, became aggressive once again and invaded in great strength the Western Cāḷukya dominions. Vijayāditya was obliged under the circumstances to leave Vēṅgī and repair to Karnāṭaka for the defence of the empire. He, therefore, crowned his son, Śaktivarman II, king of Vēṅgī, on Thursday, 18th October, A.D. 1061, and entrusting the young king to the care of his ministers he left the country.

Śaktivarman II ruled only for a short time. His reign lasted, according to the Ryāli Plates, for one year, at the end of which he is said to have gone to heaven like Abhimanyu, the heroic son of Arjuna, who lost his life while fighting against odds in the Mahābhārata war. Though the circumstances under which Śaktivarman II met with his death are not disclosed in the inscription, the comparison with Abhimanyu clearly suggests that he died in battle. There is reason to believe that he was killed during the Cōḷa invasion which swept over the southern districts of Vēṅgī at this time. It may be recalled that the Cōḷas invaded, under the leadership of Prince Rājamahēndra, the Western Cāḷukya kingdom during the closing years of the reign of Rājēndra II. The prince seems to have died, while the war was still in its initial stages; and he was succeeded as heir apparent and the leader of the armies by his paternal uncle Vīrarājēndra. Inscriptions dated in the second year of Vīrarājēndra (A.D. 1063), refer to three important campaigns against the Western Cāḷukyas. At first, he chased from the battle-field in the Gangapāḍi into the Tungabhadrā,

the Cāḷukya army under Vikramāditya; then he inflicted a defeat over a powerful army which Vikramāditya despatched against Vēngī; and finally he put to flight Āhavamalla and his two sons Vikramāditya and Jayasimha at Kuḍal-Sangamam.[1] As these campaigns are recorded in the inscriptions dated in the 2nd year *i.e.*, A.D. 1063, they must have taken place a little earlier, probably at the end of the previous year, A.D. 1062. This was actually the time when, according to the Ryāli Plates, Śaktivarman II died in battle. As there was no other enemy, who could have attacked Vēngī at that time, it is not improbable that he perished while attempting to repel the Cōḷa invasion.

The Cōḷa armies were, no doubt, completely successful. Vīrarājēndra claims to have inflicted a crushing defeat on the Cāḷukya forces, which Vikramāditya despatched to defend Vēngī, put to death the Mahādaṇḍanāyakan Cāmuṇḍarājan, and mutilated cruelly his daughter, the beautiful Naṅgalai. Notwithstanding his victory over the Karṇāṭakas, Vīrarājēndra did not reconquer Vēngī, which they had formerly wrested from his brothers, but marched away from the battle-field leaving the country in their possession. The reason for this hasty withdrawal is not far to seek. Sōmēśvara I concerted measures to counteract the Cōḷa invasion. In the first place, he commissioned Vijayāditya to lead an

1. SII. iii. p. 193, Cōḷas I. pp. 318-19.

expedition into the Cōḷa dominions.[1] Secondly, he placed himself at the head of a large army and proceeded towards Kūḍal-Sangamam, at the confluence of the Kṛṣṇā and Tungabhadrā rivers, threatening thereby the left flank of the Cōḷa army. Vīrarājēndra was, therefore, obliged to abandon his campaign in Vēngī and march to the west with the object of checking the advance of the Western Cāḷukya forces. The failure of Vīrarājēndra to take advantage of his victory and subjugate Vēngī must be attributed to the tactical movements of the Western Cāḷukya armies rather than to any other cause.

1. EC. vii. Ci 18 dated A.D. 1063 states that Vijayāditya lay encamped at Madukakeṟe on his way home from a victorious campaign in the South. Other expeditions are referred to in two records dated A.D. 1064 (SII. xi, i. No. 127) and A.D. 1065 (*Ibid* 128). These probably refer to expeditions which he had undertaken later.

CHAPTER XXII

VIJAYĀDITYA VII

At the time of the death of his son, Vijayāditya was absent from Vēngī. Like his puranic ancestor, Arjuna with whom he compares himself he was engaged with the enemy elsewhere. Despite the calamity, Vijayāditya undertook the task of protecting the earth on the advice of his friends and well-wishers; and probably entrusted the administration of the kingdom to his ministers during his absence. The Ryāli Plates, which give a good deal of information about the events that happened in Vēngī subsequent to the death of Rājarāja, do not refer to Vijayāditya's coronation As he celebrated his *abhiṣēka* in A.D. 1031, when, as stated in his Pāmulavāka Plates, he seized the kingdom temporarily, a repetition of the ceremony was probably considered superfluous.

The account of the Ryāli Plates is corroborated by the evidence of the contemporary lithic records. The rule of Vijayāditya VII over Vēngī in the years which immediately followed the death of Śaktivarman II is alluded to in an inscription of his daughter Sōvaladēvī, dated Saka 987 (A.D. 1065).[1] It has to be modified, however, in one respect. Although Vijayāditya is said to have assumed the sovereignty only after the death of his son, several records set up during his reign clearly show that he commenced to rule even earlier. A series of epigraphs,

1. SII. iv. 1007.

dated Saka 986, 990, 994 and 995, corresponding respectively to the 3rd, 8th, 12th and 13th regnal years respectively of a Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja points to Śaka 982 or 983 (A.D. 1060-61) as the initial year of his reign.[1] Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja mentioned in these inscriptions cannot be identified either with Rājarāja or his son Rājēndra-Kulōttunga; for, the date of accession indicated by them is too late for the former and too early for the latter. It is obvious that this Viṣṇuvardhana is none other than Vijayāditya VII, who seems to have counted his regnal years from A.D. 1060-61, when on the death of his half-brother he took possession of the kingdom.

An important problem pertaining to the reign of Vijayāditya demands consideration at the very outset, for on its solution depends to a very large extent the possibility of a satisfactory reconstruction of the history of his reign. In several Western Cāḷukya inscriptions of the reign of Sōmēśvara I, a prince of the name of Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja Vijayādityadēva figures as the governor of the province of Nolambavāḍi and its neighbourhood from A.D. 1063 to 1066.[2] The titles such as Sarvalōkāśraya, Vēngīmaṇḍalēśvara, Cāḷukya māṇikya &c., borne by this prince, distinctly point to his Eastern Cāḷukya origin. Now, the question is whether he was identical with

1. 186, 187, 188 of 1893; JAHRS. vii. p. 177-80.

2. EC. xi. Cd. 47, DG. 11, 141, 143, Mk. 29; vii CI. 18; SII vi. 574, 575, ix-i, 126, 127, 128 and 129.

Vijayāditya VII of Vēngī, who was also known as Sarvalōkāśraya Srī Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja Srī Vijayādityadēva.[1] It has been argued that because Vijayāditya, the governor of Nolambavāḍi, is described in the Western Cāḷukya records as the *maga*, *putra*, and *nandana* of Sōmēśvara I, he was not the king of Vēngī, but a son of Sōmēśvara himself like Sōmēśvara II, Vikramāditya VI and Jayasimha. The evidence brought forward in support of this proposition is not quite conclusive. The terms *maga*, *putra* &c., in the first place, are very wide in their application. They are employed to denote several kinds of relationship besides ones own male issue. The *lenkas* or the companions at arms of a king or prince, are usually spoken of as his sons. Secondly, the contemporary inscriptions other than those cited already, as well as Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadēvacaritra*, written at the court of Vikramāditya VI, which describe the family of Sōmēśvara I omit, while enumerating his sons, the name of Vijayāditya altogether. The grounds on which Vijayāditya is said to have been a son of Sōmēśvara I are thus seen to be erroneous; and consequently they do not preclude the possibility of his Eastern Cāḷukya origin. Important considerations which cannot be lightly set aside suggest, on the contrary, his identity with Vijayāditya VII. The contemporary Cōḷa inscriptions explicitly state that Vēngī was in the hands of the Western Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi from the beginning of the reign of Rājādhirāja I up to A.D. 1067, when it was reconquered by Vīra Rājēndra.[2] It may be recalled that during this

1. Cf. The Pāmulavāka Plates 11 69-7). '*Saḥ Śrī Sarvalōkāśraya Śrī Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārājō Rājādhirājaḥ Śrī Vijayādityadēvō &c.*' JAHRS.i i. p. 288.

2. EI. xxv. p. 251, 262.

period of Western Cāḷukya occupation the kingdom changed hands, owing to the death of Rājarāja; and Vijayāditya VII seized the throne in A.D. 1061, and making himself master of the kingdom carried on the government without any opposition.[1] This could not have been possible, had not Vijayāditya arrived at some sort of an understanding with Sōmēśvara I and secured his approval for holding the government of the country. It follows from this that Vijayāditya VII, like his namesake the governor of Noḷambavāḍi, was a vassal of Sōmēśvara I. Apart from their contemporaniety, common allegiance and the possession of the characteristic Eastern Cāḷukya titles, two important facts, generally left unnoticed in the discussion of this problem, bring them more closely together and show clearly that their resemblance was not due to accident but to the identity of their personality. Both of them, curiously enough, bore the double name of Viṣṇuvardhana Māharāja Śrī Vijayādityadēva. The names of Viṣṇuvardhana and Vijayāditya, like the Cōḷa appellations Parakēsari and Rajakēsari, were assumed alternately by the Eastern Cāḷukya kings until the time of Dānārṇava. Though the practice was given up in the Post-Restoration period, none except Vijayāditya VII adopted both the names. It would have been indeed remarkable, if the governor of Nolambavāḍi, who had this unusual double name in common with Vijayāditya VII, were not identical with him. Another fact which strengthens this view is the similarity of their status. The position which they occupied among the Western Cāḷukya nobles is indeed unique. No title indicative of the position of the sāmantas is associated with either of their names. The

1. 8 of 1913-14; JAHRS. v. p. 40.

sāmantas, the princes of the blood, and even the heir-presumptive are invariably styled as *samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda* in their inscriptions; but this title is conspicuous by its absence in the *praśastis* of both the Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayādityas; the governor of Nolambavāḍi is referred to in all his records as Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja Śrī Vijayādityadēva. In one record he is even called Mahārājādhirāja,[1] a title which is usually reserved for the Western Cāḷukya emperor. It is evident that he was not a mere sāmanta, but a subordinate ally, who was superior in status even to the princes of the blood. Similarly, Vijayāditya VII is usually styled in his inscriptions as Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja Srī Vijayādityadēva, and in the Pāmulavāka Plates as Mahārāja and Rājādhirāja.[2] These facts taken together lead irresistibly to the conclusion that Vijayāditya, the governor of Nolambavāḍi and Vijayāditya VII, the king of Vēngī were not two different individuals but one and the same person.

It may, however, be pointed out that, as Vijayāditya of Noḷambavāḍi was governing his province just at the time when Vijayāditya VII was ruling Vēngī, they could not have been identical: The objection is not as serious as it may seem at first sight. Though Vijayāditya VII is stated in his inscriptions to have been ruling in Vēngī during this period, he was not actually present in the country. The Cōḷa inscriptions are quite clear on this point. When the Cōḷa army under Vīra Rājēndra invaded Vēngī in A.D. 1062, Vijayāditya VII was not there to defend his realm. The defence was entrusted by

1. SII. ix-i. No. 127, ARE. 442 of 1914.
2. JAHRS. ii. p. 288.

Sōmēśvara I to his general Cāmuṇḍarāja, one of the Kadamba chiefs in his service.[1] Again, when Vīra Rājēndra led his armies against Vēngī for the second time in A.D. 1067, it was the Western Cāḷukya general Jananātha that opposed his invasion.[2] Vijayāditya is no doubt mentioned, but only in connection with the conclusion of peace and not with the organisation of the defence. It is, therefore, obvious that at the time of these Cōḷa invasions Vijayāditya VII was absent from his kingdom. He was, as a matter of fact, placed in charge of the government of the strategic province of Noḷambavāḍi and entrusted with the defence of the southern frontier of the Western Cāḷukya kingdom; and the task of defending Vēngī devolved therefore on his overlord Sōmēśvara I.

Early History of Vijayāditya:—The political career of Vijayāditya seems to have commenced with the death of his father. Though definite proof is lacking, it is not unlikely that he played a part in the war of succession that followed it; but his attempt to seize the throne on the death of his father proved abortive. Thanks to the help of the Cōḷas, his half-brother, Rājarāja, established, himself in the kingdom; but Vijayāditya did not lose hope; he patiently bided his time; and when a favourable opportunity offered itself a few years later, he expelled his half-brother and crowned himself king in A.D. 1031. The power, which he so eagerly grasped, he could not maintain. He was soon dislodged from the kingdom, and

1. SII. iii. 20.
2. Ibid. 30.

was compelled to take refuge in the Western Caḷukya court at Kalyāṇi, where he distinguished himself in the service of Sōmēśvara I. He won great distinction as a warrior and general, was chosen as the *ankakāṟa* or champion warrior of the king and entrusted with the command of important military expeditions against his enemies.

At the time of his son's death, Vijayāditya was engaged in conducting a campaign in the south. Sōmēś-vara I, it may be recalled, sent Vijayāditya at the head of an army into the Cōḷa country, while he himself marched towards Kūḍal-Sangamam, in order to divert the attention of Vīra Rājēndra, who advanced, after the conquest of Gangavāḍi, on Vēngī. These manoeuvres produced the desired effect; for, notwithstanding his victory over Cāmuṇḍarāja in Vēngī, Vīra Rājēndra could not take advantage of it, as the Cāḷukya forces under Sōmēśvara were threatening his flank. He was therefore, obliged to abandon the campaign which opened with so much promise and retreat hastily towards Kūḍal-Sanga-mam, on which the Cāḷukyan forces were converging. A fierce engagement took place. The Cāḷukyan army was led by the Brahman general, Madhusūdana or Maduvana; and Vikramāditya and Jayasimha, the sons of Sōmēśvara I, together with a host of sāmantas were fighting under his command. Notwithstanding the valour displayed by the Cāḷukya forces, thanks to the heroic onslaught of Vīrarājēn-dra, the Cōḷas won a glorious victory. The Cāḷukyan army, broken and dispirited, fled the field. Their camp was looted and many prisoners were taken. Kūḍal-Sangamam, however, turned out to be a barren victory. The Cōḷas failed to take advantage of it; instead of advancing into the Cāḷukyan territory which was left

undefended by their victory over the Cāḷukya army, Vīra-rājēndra returned with the army to his native kingdom. The reason for this sudden retreat appears to be twofold. In the first place, Vijayāditya, whom Sōmēśvara I sent to the south seems to have disturbed the peace of the Cōḷa dominions. Though no details of his campaign are available, he is said to have been successful in the enterprise, and returned victoriously with the army, as stated in an epigraph at Madukakere in the Mysore State, dated A.D. 1063.[1] Secondly, Rājēndra II appears to have died just about this time, and Vīra Rājēndra, who was the heir-apparent, had to go to the capital, Gangāpurī for celebrating his coronation.

The Cōḷa attempt to reconquer Vēngī was thus foiled for the time being; but the danger was by no means over. Vīra Rājēndra, who was eager to restore the prestige of his family which suffered an eclipse during the reign of his immediate predecessors, was expected to make a more sustained effort to subjugate Vēngī; and Sōmēśvara I not only concerted measures for the defence of his own territories but to carry the warfare into the enemy's kingdom also. In the first place, he stationed on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā in the neighbourhood of Bezwada, a strong army under the Parmāra prince, Jananātha of Dhārā, to protect Vēngī. Secondly, he appointed Vijayāditya VII as the military governor of Nolambavāḍi, the gate way through which the Cōḷas were accustomed to lead their armies in their attacks upon his territories, and commanded him to organize an expedition against the Cōḷa country. Accordingly, Vijayāditya placed himself at the head of his forces, and marched to the south in

1. EC. vii. ci. 18.

A.D. 1064.[1] What happened during the course of this expedition is not known. It appears to have provoked, however, an immediate counter-attack by the Cōḷas on the Cāḷukyan territories. Inscriptions, dated in the third regnal year (A.D. 1065) of Vīra Rājēndra refer for the first time to the death in battle of certain Cāḷukya feudatories not mentioned in the earlier records. In the Karuvūr inscription, for instance, it is said that Vīra Rājēndra immediately after his coronation 'despatched (the banner of) the ferocious tiger into all directions, and cut off the beautiful heads, surrounded by garlands (won) on battle-fields, of the king of Pottappi, whose horses chafed under the bridle, of Vāran of (Kēraḷa), who wore large ankle-rings, and of the youngerbrother of Jananātha of Dhārā.'[2] Of the three princes mentioned here, two were the subordinates of Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara I, and both of them were in charge of portions of the Southern Telugu country. The district of Pottapi lay on the northern fringe of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam; it embraced the bulk of the Chandragiri taluk of the Chittoor district and the Rajampet taluk of the Cuddapah district, and formed the hereditary estate of a branch of the Telugu Cōḷas, commonly known as Pottapi-Cōḷas. The name of the king of Pottapi slain by Vīra Rājēndra is not known. He must have been one of the immediate predecessors of Pottapi Kāma Cōḍa Mahārāja, who ruled the district from A.D. 1106 to 1111 as a subordinate of the emperor Kulōttunga I.[3] The locality, over which the younger brother of Jananātha of Dhārā bore sway, cannot be ascertained at present. It is not, however, unlikely that it stood somewhere on the

1. SII. ix-i. 127.
2. SII. iii. No. 20.
3. 262, 263, 267 of 1905.

banks of the Kṛṣṇā, where his elder brother was stationed. However that may be, there is no room for doubt that Vīra Rājēndra sent an expedition to the southern Telugu country in A.D. 1065; and as this was preceded by Vijayāditya's invasion of the south in the previous year, it is not unreasonable to assume that the former was caused by the latter. The scope of the expedition appears to have been limited; it seems to have been confined to the southern districts of the coastal Telugu country. Beyond putting the two Cāḷukya feudatories to death, the leaders of the expedition appear to have achieved very little. It is even doubtful whether, as a result of their victory, Vīra Rājēndra was able to annex the Pottapi country.

Though the expedition was not fruitful in results, it served to inflame the anger of Sōmēśvara I, who despatched, as a measure of retaliation, another army under Vijayāditya VII to the Cōḷa country. According to an epigraph at Gudihaḷḷi in the Harapanahaḷḷi taluk of the Bellary district, dated 7th December A.D. 1065, Vijayāditya having been commissioned by Āhavamalladēva to conquer the southern quarter, set out on an expedition of conquest, and lying encamped at Arasikeṟe where he gathered together all the articles necessary for the undertaking, he held a great durbar surrounded by all his retinue.[1] How this grand expedition proceeded to achieve its object is not recorded. Probably Vijayāditya succeeded in penetrating into the Cōḷa dominions, but, owing to opposition, had to turn back and return to his headquarters without realising his object.

1. SII. ix-i. 129.

Vīra Rājēndra must have been greatly incensed by the frequent Western Cāḷukyan incursions into his territories. He wanted to chastise Sōmēśvara I for disturbing the peace of his kingdom, and teach him a lesson which he could not easily forget. He collected all his forces and set out at their head in A.D. 1066 for the Cāḷukya country. When he arrived on the banks of 'a river with whirling waters,' probably the Tungabhadrā, he met there by previous engagement the Cāḷukyan army. A fierce battle took place, and after much hard fighting the Cōḷa forces won a complete victory. Several Cāḷukyan commanders and feudatories were killed in the battle, and Vīra Rājēndra carried away with him their severed heads to be nailed up to the gates of his capital, Gangaikoṇḍa-Śōḷapuram, as a warning to his enemies. Sōmēśvara I, it is said, was stung to the quick by the disgrace of his defeat; he sent to Vīra Rājēndra a message challenging him for another contest at Kūḍal-Sangamam, which he fixed as the place of battle. Sōmēśvara I devised a plan of attack which was calculated to secure him victory. The challenge was intended to screen his real purpose. It was sent to Vīra Rājēndra more for luring him away with the bulk of his army from his country than for the vindication of the honour of the Cāḷukyan arms. Sōmēśvara wanted to draw away the Cōḷa king with his forces into Karṇāṭaka, and send a powerful expedition against his kingdom by a devious route. As soon as the information came that the Cōḷa monarch had accepted his challenge, he sent an expedition to the south under his son Vikramāditya along the West Coast to attack the Cōḷa empire in the rear.

Vīra Rājēndra, who was not perhaps aware of the subterfuge underlying Sōmēśvara's plan of campaign

marched with all his forces, and arrived at the site of battle on the appointed day; but Sōmēśvara I did not make his appearance as expected, though he sent forces under his generals Dēvanātha, Siddhi and Kēśi to oppose the Cōḷa army. The Cōḷa inscriptions attribute Sōmēśvara's failure to keep the engagement to his cowardice. 'The liar (i.e., Āhavamalla),' it is said, 'ran away until his legs became sore, and hid himself in the western ocean.'[1] It was not, as a matter of fact, fear which induced Somēśvara I to repair to the shores of the western ocean. He went thither to send Vikramāditya to the south, in accordance with the plan which he had already chalked out. Greatly disappointed by Sōmēś-vara's evasion, Vīra Rājēndra retired to Kāndai, probably Kandanavōlu (i.e., Kurnool), where he waited in vain for one month expecting Sōmēśvara to come; but seeing no sign of his arrival, he attacked the Cāḷukya army, and having inflicted a defeat on them, put the three generals Dēvanātha, Siddhi and Kēśi to flight, set up, after devastating the Raṭṭapāḍi Seven-and-half lakh country, a pillar of victory on the Tungabhadrā, and marched away with his forces towards Vēngī, issuing at the same time a challenge to Sōmēśvara to come and defend that country if he could.[2]

Vēngī, however, did not submit to the Cōḷa arms without resistance. Sōmēśvara I who anticipated this invasion made adequate provision for her defence. He stationed, as pointed out already, a strong army on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā for the protection of the country. Moreover, he seems to have permited Vijayāditya VII

1. SII. iii. No. 30, p. 69.

2. Ibid.

to relinquish the governorship of Nolambavāḍi and return to his kingdom. Vijayāditya was ruling in Nolambavāḍi until December A.D. 1066.[1] As he is not referred to in the inscriptions of the district subsequent to this date, and as the Cōḷa records allude to his opposition to Vīra Rājēndra during this campaign, it is evident that he left Nolambavāḍi, as soon as the Cōḷa army set out on its march to Vēngī, and returned to his own country to organize its defence and drive back the invaders.

Meanwhile, Vīra Rājēndra proceeded with his army and arrived on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā, meeting with no opposition from the enemy. When he attempted to cross the river in the neighbourhood of Vijayavāḍa, the passage was contested by the Cāḷukyan generals Jananātha, Rājamayya and Tipparusayya[2], who were stationed there on garrison duty. A great battle was fought in which the Cāḷukyan army sustained a defeat and sought safety in flight. The victorious Cōḷa army crossed the river, and marched through Vēngī until they reached the Gōdāvarī without any accident on the way. What happened after this is not quite clear. The Cōḷa inscriptions give divergent accounts of the events that happened during the advance from the Gōdāvarī. The Maṉimangalam record, dated in the 5th year of Vīra Rājēndra i.e., A.D. 1067 states that "(he) crossed even Kaḷingam and beyond (it) despatched for battle (his) invincible army as far as the farther end of Śakkarakōṭṭam (Cakrakōṭṭam)"[3] The Tirumukkūḍal epigraph, which is also dated in the same year, omits the expedition

1. EC. xi. Col. 47.
2. EI. xxi. p. 243.
3. SII. iii. p. 70.

to Cakrakōṭṭam altogether in this context, though it furnishes several details of the Kaḷinga campaign not mentioned in the Maṇimangaḷam inscription. Vīra Rājēndra is said to have 'crossed the seven Kaḷingas, and and led his swelling elephant forces as far as the snow-covered Mahēndra (mountain) on whose right side was carved the tiger mark.'[1] Which of these two records gives an accurate account of the events, it is not easy to decide. The expedition to Cakrakōṭṭam, perhaps, took place as stated in the Maṇimangaḷam inscription during this invasion also, its omission in Tirumukkūḍal record being due purely to inadvertance. The subjugation of the territory extending from the Mahēndragiri to Cakrakōṭṭam brought Vīra Rājēndra's campaign to a close. He bestowed the kingdom of Vēngī on Vijayāditya VII, who submitted to him after an unsuccessful attempt to defend his country, and returned triumphantly to his capital, Gangakoṇḍa-Śōḷapuram.[2]

Now, the policy adopted by Vīra Rājēndra in the disposal of the conquered territory raises an interesting question. Why did he bestow Vēngī on Vijayāditya VII, ignoring the rights of Rājēndra, the lawful claimant to the throne? Vijayāditya, it may be remembered, usurped the throne of Vēngī, after the death of Rājarāja, who was a brother-in-law of Vīra Rājēndra. Although Rājarāja was dead, his son Rājēndra was living in exile at the Cōḷa court. Why Vīra Rājēndra preferred Vijayāditya to his own nephew, who had a better claim to rule Vēngī, is not quite clear. It cannot be said that Vīra Rājēndra was not well disposed towards Rājēndra; for

1. EI. xxi, p. 243.

2. Ibid.

not only is there no indication of hostility between them, but the available evidence, meagre as it is, suggests, on the contrary, the existence of friendly relations. The explanation of this apparently inexplicable attitude of Vīra Rājēndra must be sought in political expediency. The Cōḷa inscriptions on which the foregoing account of Vīra Rājēndra's invasion of Vēngī and Kaḷinga is based present only one side of the picture. They expatiate upon the Cōḷa victories and leave out incidents that do not redound credit to their arms. Though they furnish a good deal of useful information about Vīra Rājēndra's exploits, they do not even allude remotely to the reverses which he suffered in the field. While he was engaged in subjugating Vēngī and Kaḷinga, a great danger arose in the south, which threatened the tranquillity of his dominions. The Cāḷukyan army sent by Sōmēśvara I under his son Vikramāditya to conquer the south entered the Cōḷa dominions, as it were, by the backdoor. Vikramāditya advanced through Konkan on the West Coast and descended upon Kēraḷa unexpectedly. He defeated the ruler of the country and exacted tribute from him. He next came upon the king of Simhaḷa and compelled him to purchase peace at a heavy price; then he turned against the Pāṇḍya, and having inflicted a defeat on him levied tribute from him. Having subdued all the kings who were the tributaries of the Cōḷa in the south, Vikramāditya marched at last on Gangaikoṇḍa-Śōḻapuram, the capital of the Cōḷa empire, Vikramāditya's victories over the southern Cōḷa feudatories and his advance upon Gangaikoṇḍa-Sōḻapuram compelled Vīra Rājēndra to suspend his campaign in the north, and make hasty preparations for returning home. Vīra Rājēndra had, however, no desire to relinquish his hold upon the territory which

he had conquered during the campaign; but no permanent arrangement could be made for its administration, as its subjugation was not yet completely effected. Vijayāditya though vanquished was still at large; and he was expected to make an attempt to regain his power, as soon as conditions became more favourable. The submission of the chief of Cakrakōṭṭam was conditioned by the presence of the Cōḷa armies; and it was not likely that he would remain loyal a moment longer than was absolutely necessary. Vīra Rājēndra deemed it advisable under the circumstances, to win over Vijayāditya to his side and strengthen his position by entering into an alliance with him. A treaty was accordingly concluded. Vijayāditya swore allegiance to Vīra Rājēndra and obtained from him Vēngī as a fief. The state of affairs prevailing at Cakrakōṭṭam did not admit of such an easy solution. Vīra Rājēndra was obliged to leave behind an army under his nephew, the Eastern Cāḷukya prince Rājēndra, who seems to have accompanied him during the expedition to safeguard the Cōḷa interests.[1] Having thus provided for

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1. In some of the early inscriptions Kulōttunga I, with the historical introduction *Pugaḻ Śūḻnda puṇari*, he is said to have defeated during his *Iḷango Paruvam i.e.*, before A.D. 1070 an army of the king of Kuntala in the north. (SII. iii. pp. 142, 146). The king of Kuntala referred to here was, as pointed out by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Sōmēśvara I. Prince Vikramāditya set out, according to Bilhaṇa, on a *digvijaya* during the last years of his father's reign; and after conquering the southern kings, he marched to Vēngi and thence to Cakrakōṭṭam. As Vikramāditya is said to have heard the news of the death of his father on 29th March A.D. 1068, while he was encamped on the banks

the government of the conquered territories, Vīra Rājēndra hastened homewards. It is not known whether he actually came into conflict with Vikramāditya. According to the *Vikramāṅkadēvacaritram*, which is the sole authority on the subject, Vikramāditya not only captured Gangākuṇḍa and Kāñcī, the two great cities of the Cōḷa empire, but marched triumphantly along the East Coast to Vēngī.[1] He seems to have met with little opposition. Vijayāditya repudiated his recent agreement with Vīra Rājēndra, and threw in his lot with his old friend and comrade. When, however, Vikramāditya proceeded to Cakrakōṭṭam to dislodge Rājēndra from that region, though he met with some initial success, he was obliged to give up the enterprise ultimately and retrace his steps. At first he laid siege to Cakrakōṭṭam and took possession of the fort. In the picturesque language of Bilhaṇa, he seized everything belonging to the ruler of the fort excepting the elephants that were painted on the walls of his palace.[2] Though Cakrakōṭṭam fell into his hands, he was not able to secure a permanent foothold in the country. Rājēndra,

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of the Kṛṣṇā, on his way home, his attack upon Cakrakōṭṭam must have preceded it. Since Kulōttunga *i.e.*, prince Rājēndra, as he was then known, was already there at the time of Vikramāditya's attack, he must have gone there still earlier. As the Cōḷas lost their hold on the country round Cakrakōṭṭam subsequent to the death of Rājēndra Cōla I in A.D. 1044, and as the Eastern Cāḷukya authority did not extend at this time beyond the Eastern Ghats, it is certain that Kulōttunga must have accompanied Vīra Rājēndra during his expedition in A.D. 1067.

1. *Vikramāṅkadēvacaritram* 4 : 11-18.

2. Ibid 4 : 30.

whom the Cōḷa monarch left in the place to maintain his authority, had, indeed, a particularly hard task to perform. The local chiefs, whom Vīra Rājēndra reduced to subjection, were not over-friendly, and the situation was further complicated by the arrival of the Cāḷukya army under Vikramāditya. Rājēndra, however, rose equal to the occasion. He put down the local chiefs with a stern hand, and routed the Cāḷukyan army which came upon him flushed with the recent victories in the south. In some of the inscriptions of Kulōttunga's reign with the *praśasti*, *pugal śūlnda puṇari*, which describe his achievements during the period of his *Iḷangōp-paruvam*, it is said that he overcame the treachery of his enemies, captured many herds of elephants at Vairāgaram, exacted tribute from Dhārāvarṣa, the ruler of Cakrakōṭṭam, routed by the strength of his arm 'an army of the king of Kuntala,' and put on the garland of victory in the north, before he turned his attention to the south.[1] The part played by Rājēndra is perhaps exaggerated in these records. He was not left without assistance in dealing with the enemy. Vīra Rājēndra was not forgetful of the condition of the army of occupation which he left in the north. Though it was strong enough to face any local development confidently, it was not in a position to maintain its own against a foreign enemy, who might come upon it in force. He therefore hastened to the north with fresh reinforcements, as soon as he restored order within his dominions. When he approached Koṇḍai,[2] his progress was arrested

1. SII. iii. p. 142, 146.

2. The name is spelt Konṭa or Koṇḍa, a stronghold on the right bank of the Śabarī, just below its confluence with the Silēnī (17° 48′ 27″ 81° 23′ 33″ about 70 to 8) miles as the crow flies due N. W. of Rajahmundry.

by the opposition of the Western Cāḷukya forces, which were stationed there to intercept his advance. In the battle that ensued, he overcame the enemy. Several *sāmantas* of the Cāḷukyan monarch, such as Nāgaiyan, Māraiyan, Manmagaṇḍaiyan, Koṇḍaiyan, Accidran and others, though they fought ever so bravely, suffered defeat and had to seek safety in flight. Vīra Rājēndra planted a pillar of victory on the site of the battle and proceeded on his march. He crossed Kaḷinga, and reached Cakrakōṭṭam in the north, where he destroyed the elephant forces of the Cāḷukya king and routed his army.[1]

The defeat of his army compelled Vikramāditya to give up his designs on Vēngī and Cakrakōṭṭam and retire into his own country. While he was encamped on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā, as he was returning from Cakrakōṭṭam, news of his father's last illness and demise reached him; and immediately he started for the capital to perform the obsequies with his brothers. The W. Cāḷukyan danger having disappeared in this manner, Vīra Rājēndra proceeded peacefully to make arrangements for the government of the conquered territory. Vijayāditya forfeited, by his act of treachery, his claim for favourable treatment. Vīra Rājēndra seems to have restored his nephew, Rājēndra to his paternal kingdom, and entrusted him with the government of Vēngī, Kaḷinga, and Cakrakōṭṭam. The Ṭēki, Cellūr and Piṭhāpuram Grants of the reign of Kulōttunga I, which give us a glimpse into his early history, state that at first he ascended the throne of Vēngī after his father had ruled there for a period of forty-one years, and that, being desirous of the Cōḷa kingdom, he bestowed his ancestral dominion on his paternal

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1. EI. xxi. pp. 243-44.

uncle, Vijayāditya and departed to the south.[1] The *Vikramāṅkadēvacaritram* corroborates indirectly the evidence of these inscriptions. "After the lapse of a few days (after his coronation) when the Cōḷa's son (Adhirājēndra), was slain in a rebellion of his subjects, the lord of Vēngī, Rājiga by name, took possession of the throne".[2] This makes it quite clear that Rājēndra was already the king of Vēngī, by the time he marched to the south. These inscriptions envisage two definite stages in the career of Kulōttunga I, *viz.*, his rule over Vēngī and his subsequent sovereignty over the Cōḷa empire. Though they leave on the mind the impression that Kulōttunga, as Rājēndra preferred to style himself in his later years, succeeded his father immediately after his rule of forty-one years, his accession did not take place before the lapse of several years. Rājēndra was, as a matter of fact, kept out of his patrimony for a long time; and it was not until Vīra Rājēndra's final expedition against Vēngī that he found it possible to ascend his ancestral throne. The contemporary Cōḷa inscriptions explicitly state, as pointed out already, that Vēngī was under the sway of the Western Cāḷukya's from the time of Rājādhirāja I until the time of its reconquest by Vīra Rājēndra in A.D. 1067.[3] The Eastern Cāḷukya records of the same period show clearly that after the close of Rājarāja's reign in A.D. 1061, Vēngī passed into the hands, not of his son Rājēndra, but of his half-brother and rival, Vijayāditya VII, one of the chief lieutenants of the Western Cāḷukya Sōmēśvara I, and that his authority was recognized in the country without a break until A.D. 1067, when after the

1. EI. vi. p. 344, SII. i. p. 60, IA. xix. p. 427, EI. v. p. 77.

2. *Vikramāṅkadēvacaritram* pp. 36-8, Cōḷas ii. pp. 8-9.

3. EI. xxv. p. 262.

battle of Vijayavāḍa Vīra Rājēndra took possession of it.[1] Under these circumstances, it would not have been possible for Rājēndra, who was no friend of the Western Cāḷukyas, to ascend the throne of Vēngī. His claims were overlooked for sometime even after the Cōḷa reconquest. Although Vīra Rājēndra was eager to re-establish his nephew in his ancestral kingdom, he could not effect it immediately. He was obliged, as pointed out above, to come to terms with Vijayāditya and recognize his sovereignty, owing to the exigencies of the military situation. The defection of Vijayāditya brought about quickly his downfall and paved the way for Rājēndra's restoration. After Vijayāditya's defeat and consequent expulsion from the country, Vīra Rājēndra appears to have crowned Rājēndra king of Vēngī and entrusted him with the administration of the Cōḷa dependencies in the north. Rājēndra's coronation took place either at the end of A.D. 1068 or early in the next year, and he ruled the country peacefully, until he was called upon to go to the south to assume the sovereignty of the Cōḷa empire some two years later.

The last phase of Vijayāditya's reign:—Vijayāditya's rule did not come to an end with the accession of Rājēndra. He was ruling the country until Śaka 990 (=A.D. 1068), as shown by a Drākshārāmam epigraph, dated on the 11th day of his 8th regnal year;[2] but no record of his reign is found anywhere during the next four years, though a few inscriptions dated in his 12th and 13th years

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1. 8 of 1913-14, JAHRS. v. p. 33; 188 of 1893, SII. iv, 1013; 182 of 1893, SII. iv. 1007.

2. 187 of 1893, SII. iv. 1012.

show that, at the end of this period, the government had once again passed into his hands.[1] What happened to Vijayāditya during this interval of four years is not known. The Eastern Ganga records of the time of Anantavarman Cōḍa-Gangadēva, which allude to the flight of Vijayāditya from Vēngī, owing to a Cōḷa invasion, suggest that during the period under consideration, he was living in exile at the court of Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman at Kaḷinganagara. In the Korṇi Grant, it is stated that Rājarāja, the father of Cōḍa-Gangadēva, "first became the husband of the goddess of victory in battle with the Dramiḷas, and then wedded Rājasundarī, the daughter of the Cōḍa king; and when Vijayāditya beginning to grow old, left (the country of) Vēngī, as if he were the Sun leaving the sky, and was about to sink in the great ocean of the Cōḍas, he, Rājarāja, the refuge of the distressed, caused him to enjoy prosperity for a long time in the estern region."[2] The name of the Cōḷa king, the father of Rājasundarī, is disclosed in another record of the same monarch, where she is referred to as the daughter of Rājēndra Cōḷa.[3] The reason for Rājarāja's solicitude for Vijayāditya is not far to seek. It was not so much due to his sympathy with the distressed as to his desire to further his own ends under the pretext of offering help to Vijayāditya. Rājarāja was a Cōḷa feudatory, who was anxious to shake off his allegiance and assert his independence. Kaḷinga had no political existence as distinct from Vēngī at this

1. 8 and 9 of 1924-25; JAHRS. vii, pp. 177-78; 186 of 1893, SII. iv. 1011.

2. IA. xviii. p. 171. The Rājēndra Cōḷa referred to here is very probably the emperor Rājēndra Cōḷa II.

3. Ibid. p. 164.

time.[1] Since the time of Amma II, if not earlier, she lost her individuality and was incorporated with Vēngī. These two countries formed together a single kingdom with probably a single government. The Eastern Gangas, the hereditary rulers of Kaḷinga, though it is nowhere explicitly stated, had to acknowledge the supremacy of the Cāḷukyas of Vēngī. The subjugation of Vēngī by the Cōḷas did not change their position. Owing to their close family alliance with the Eastern Cāḷukyas, the Cōḷas left them practically independent, and helped them frequently to put down their enemies. During the Cōḷa-Western Cāḷukya wars, which convulsed Vēngī in the reign of Rajarāja-Narēndra, the hold of the Eastern Cāḷukyas over Kaḷinga was probably shaken. Vajrahasta V, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1038[2], appears to have ruled for the most part as an independent ruler. In the closing years of his reign, the peace of his kingdom was greatly disturbed and being vanquished in war, he had to submit to the Cōḷa emperor. Vīra Rājēndra led two expeditions against Kaḷinga in A.D. 1067-68 within the short duration of a few months. On the first occasion, he crossed the seven Kaḷingas, led his elephant forces as far as the snow-capped Mahēndra mountain and carved on its right side the emblem of the tiger. During the second expedition, he despatched 'a very sea of army' against some place in Kaḷinga, though it is not possible to determine, owing to the damaged condition of the record detailing the information, how the enterprise had terminated.[3]

1. This fact is clearly brought out in the Charla Plates (EI. xxv. p. 262).
2. EI. iv. p. 183.
3. EI. xxi. p. 220 f.

Vajrahasta's inscriptions, of which there are several, are quite silent on the matter; nor do the records of his successors, which describe in eloquent language the victories won by them over the Cōḷas, allude even remotely to these expeditions Their silence may be taken as an indirect confirmation of the evidence of the Cōḷa inscriptions. The restoration of Rājēndra and his establishment on the throne of Vēngī, which followed the Cōḷa victories in the north, seemed to perpetuate the vassalage of the Eastern Gangas to the rulers of Vēngī. So long as Rājēndra was ruling in Vēngī, the chances of their success to regain their independence were not many. Nevertheless, they gave shelter to the fugitive Vijayāditya in their court to provide themselves with a plausible excuse to pick up a quarrel with Rājēndra and his Cōḷa overlord, and waited for a favourable opportunity to strike the blow. Vajrahasta was not, however, destined to re-establish his independence. After a rule of thirty-three years, he died in A D. 1069, leaving his kingdom to his son Rājarāja I Dēvēndravarman, who ascended throne in A.D. 1070.[1]

Meanwhile, the political situation in South India had undergone a great change. The Cōḷa emperor Vīra Rājēndra died in A.D. 1069; and his son Adhirājēndra who managed, with the assistance of his brother-in-law, the Western Cāḷukya Vikramāditya VI, to ascend his father's

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1. His Ins. p. 358. n, 1.

throne, was killed in a rebellion of his subjects. Anarchy reigned supreme in the Cōḷa empire. As there was no proper heir to the throne, Rājēndra, who was a descendant of the Cōḷa emperors in the female line, left Vēngī probably with the bulk of his army, and advancing upon the Cōḷa capital, Gangaikoṇḍa Śōḷapuram, took, possession of the vacant throne and proclaimed himself the Cōḷa emperor.

The departure of Rājēndra to the south with his forces must have reduced the military strength of Vēngī and left her in a comparatively weak condition. The political entanglements in the south were such that they were not likely to permit him to return or send reinforcements to Vēngī in case they were needed. Rājēndra was obliged to conserve all his strength and remain on guard to ward off the attacks of Vikramāditya, who was incessantly devising plans for his overthrow. Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman studied the situation carefully and laid his plans skilfully so as to ensure success to his arms. His brahman commander, Baṇapati, marched by his orders to the west and engaged the Cōḷa forces which were left there by Rājēndra to protect Vēngī. The Cōḷas, owing probably to their meagre strength, could not cope with the enemy and suffered defeat.[1] The disaster was not perhaps serious; but Rājēndra could not spare reinforcements. He must have realised, that in the circumstances in which he was placed it was not wise to persist in war; and that a peace though it involved some sacrifice of prestige, had certain definite advantages, which counterbalanced the loss. The recognition of the rights of an inconvenient enemy like Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman would convert him into a valuable ally; and the restoration of his old uncle, who was not

1. EI. iv. p. 317.

likely to live long and who had no surviving male issue to succeed him, would not involve any permanent loss. Rājēndra therefore concluded peace with Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman, according to which he agreed to allow Vijayāditya to rule in Vēngī during the remaining years of his life. He also recognized the independence of Rājarāja, and secured his friendship by bestowing upon him the hand of his sister-in-law, Rājasundarī, the daughter of the Cōḷa emperor Rājēndra Cōḷa II, in marriage.

The restoration of Vijayāditya appears to have taken place before A.D. 1072; for records, dated in his 12th and 13th years, show that he was again ruling in Vēngī at that time.[1] He was not, however, destined to rule in peace. For some reasons unknown at present Yaśaḥkarṇadēva, the Cēdi king of Dāhaḷa, invaded Vēngī about A.D. 1073. In the Khaira Plates, it is stated that he extirpated with ease the ruler of Andhra (even though) the play of (that king's) arms disclosed no flaw,' and 'reverenced with many ornaments the holy Bhīmēśvara, passing close to whom the Gōdāvarī with dancing waves as her eye brows, sings (his praises) with the seven notes of her (seven) streams, sweet like the cries of the intoxicated flamingo.'[2] The total absence of Vijayāditya's inscriptions during the succeeding years seems to bear out the truth of the above statement. The Dīrghāsi epigraph dated A.D. 1075, declares that Baṇapati, the commander of the Eastern Ganga king, Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman, defeated the king of Vēngī again and again, seized all his wealth and despatched Daddārṇava to the capital of Yama,

1. Cp. 8 and 9 of 1924-25, JAHRS. vii. p. 177-80.
2. EI. xii. p. 213.

to announce the news of victory.[1] Though the inscription does not disclose the name of the king of Vēngī defeated by Baṇapati, there can be no doubt that he was Vijayāditya. It is not possible in the present state of knowledge to identify Daddārṇava, who was obviously the representative or the general in charge of the army of the ruler of Vēngī. The victories of the Cēdi and the Eastern Ganga kings do not seem to have put an end to Vijayāditya's rule. As he is said to have ruled for the duration of fifteen years in the Tēki, Cellūru, and Piṭhāpuram Grants, he must have ruled over the kingdom until his death in A.D. 1075. With the death of Vijayāditya, the history of the Eastern Cāḷukyas came to an end. Though Vēngī lost her independence under the descendants of Dānārṇava, she enjoyed a certain amount of autonomy, and was treated throughout the period as a separate kingdom; but after the death of Vijayāditya, she lost her distinctive character and was completely absorbed in the Cōḷa empire. No doubt, the descendants of Rājarāja Narēndra still controlled her destinies; but they no longer lived in the countyy. They abandoned their native home, relinquished their family name and traditions, and gloried in the name of the Cōḷa, which they had adopted, on succeeding to the empire of the Cōḷas.

Character of Vijayāditya: Very little is known of Vijayāditya as a ruler, for he was obliged to live during the greater part of his reign away from his kingdom. He was a brave warrior, and a skilful general. Though he began his military career immediately after the death of his father, he did not acquire fame until the accession of Sōmēśvara I, whom he served with distinction and credit.

1. EI. iv. p. 314-18.

He participated in almost every war, which that monarch had to wage with the imperial Cōḷas; and was reckoned by the display of valour as the peer of Vikramāditya. A marked feature of the character of Vijayāditya was his hostility towards his half-brother Rājarāja. It had perhaps its origin in his Telugu Cōḍa ancestory. Vijayāditya, it may be recalled, was the descendant of Jaṭā Cōḍa Bhīma, who ruled during the period of interregnum over the entire coastal Andhra country, through his mother Mēḷama or Mēḍama. He probably considered that he had a greater right to rule Vēngī than his half-brother. That may account for his consistent hostility to Rājarāja, and frequent attempts to seize the throne.

Vijayāditya's family: Vijayāditya married two wives. His principal queen, the mother of his only son Śaktivarman II, was Mādava, a princess of the Haihaya family.[1] Another queen, Rēvala by name, is mentioned in a Drākṣārāmam epigraph dated A.D. 1065; she bore to him a daughter called Sōmala, who made in the said year a gift of certain jewels and silver utensils to the temple of Bhīmēśvara.[2] Besides his two children, Vijayāditya

1. JAHRS. v. p. 47.

2. 182 of 1893, SII. iv. 1007. The late Mr. K. V. Lakshmanarao who first edited this inscription in the *S. R. P. Saṁcika* (pp. 25-29), wrongly identified Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja, the father of Sōmaladēvī mentioned in the epigraph with Rājarāja. He based his identification on the title, *Rājamārtāṇḍa*, mentioned in the opening verse of the record, which Sōmala's father had in common with Rājarāja. It is doubtful whether Rājarāja had this title; for, a verse from Nannayabhaṭṭa's Āndhra Mahābhāratam quoted in support of this is of doubtful value. However that may be, he was

seems to have brought up a foster-son, called Mummaḍi Bhīma, a prince of the Solar race. Bhīma is said to have been brought up from his childhood by Vijayāditya, 'who treated him almost like his own son.' Bhīma rose to prominence under Rājarāja II, the first Cōḷa viceroy of Vēngī,' under Kulōttunga I, and rendered him valuable assistance in his wars against the Ganga, Kaḷinga and Kuntala kings.[1] Vijayāditya probably adopted Mummaḍi Bhīma as his foster-son to fill up the void in his life caused by the premature death of his only son, Śaktivarman II.

Vijayāditya's Subordinates: Several nobles and officials are mentioned in Vijayāditya's inscriptions in Karṇātaka; but they were the subjects of Āhavamalla-Sōmēśvara I, who had no connection whatever with the government of Vēngī. A few nobles and officials, who are referred to in his inscriptions in Vēngī, deserve notice. In the early years of his career, when he drove his half-brother, Rājarāja, out of his kingdom, and seized the throne in A.D. 1031, he was greatly assisted by a certain Cemmarāja of Nāgakula and his son Bhīma. They appear to have played an important part in dislodging Rājarāja and securing the throne for Vijayāditya. Bhīma who had the titles of Mēghagirinātha, Mēlpakandarpa, and Malayabhāskara served him as his *amātya*. In recognition

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unable to give a proper explanation of the phrase *Bijayita-kūmturu* i.e., the daughter of Bijayita or Vijayāditya occurring in the Telugu portion of the inscription. The names, Viṣṇuvardhana and Vijayāditya taken together with the date of the record clearly show that Viṣṇuvardhana, the father of Sōmala, was none other than Vijayāditya VII.

1. 3 of 1921-22, ARE. 1922. Part II, para 6.

of his services in procuring the kingdom for him, Vijayāditya bestowed upon him the village of Kompolomgu with its twelve hamlets free from all obligations.[1] It has been suggested that this Bhīmabhūpa was identical with Bhīmana *preggaḍa* or *amātya* of Vijayāditya mentioned in the Rajahmundry epigraph of A.D. 1072, now preserved in the Madras Museum.[2] This is, however, doubtful, as the record does not furnish definite evidence in support of the suggested identification. Aḍapa Appana, who is said to have taken great pains in the cause of Śaktivarman II and was devoted to his service, must have been another officer of Vijayāditaya, whom he appointed as one of the guardians of the kingdom during the short reign of his son.[3]

1. JAHRS. ii. p. 288.
2. Ibid. vii. p. 178.
3. Ibid. v. pp. 45-46.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE EASTERN CĀLUKYA ADMINISTRATION

The system of government obtaining in Vēngī under the Eastern Cāḷukyas was monarchy of the type that was commonly in vogue in the ancient and the medieval Hindu kingdoms in India. The *saptāngas* or the seven constituent elements, and the eighteen *tīrthas* or ministers such as the *mantrin*, *purōhita*, *sēnāpati*, *yuvarāja*, *dauvārika*, *pradhāna*, *adhyakṣā* &c. are referred to in the inscriptions.[1] Besides a *niyōgādhikṛta* or the superintendent of the *niyōgas*, of which, according to a late record of the 13th century, there were seventy-two in number, is also mentioned.[2] These clearly indicate that the Eastern Cāḷukya government was a monarchy of the class described in the Hindu works on the Artha and the Dharma śāstras The king was the supreme head of the state and carried on the government of the kingdom with the help of his *tīrthas* or ministers, who probably constituted themselves into an advisory body. No definite information is, however, available as to how they actually carried on the work of administration. They probably followed the injunctions laid down in the works on *rājanīti* or state-craft for the purpose.

The kingdom was divided for administrative convenience into *viṣayas* or districts, several of which are mentioned in the inscriptions. In the extreme south, however, vestiges of the earlier Pallava administrative

1. EI. iv. p. 307, vi. p. 307, *Cp.* 1 of 1916-17.
2. SII. I. No. 36, ARE. 729 of 1920.

system seems to have persisted. Karma-*rāṣṭra* with its later alternate form, Kamma-*nāḍu-viṣaya*, and the Boya-*koṭṭams* are referred to in some of the early records.[1] Similarly, the Cōḷa provincial system appears to have been introduced in certain parts of the kingdom after the Cōḷa conquest under Rājēndra Cōḷa I. The old Sakaṭa-mantani-nāḍu was, in pursuance of the policy followed by the Cōḷa monarchs towards the conquered territory, renamed Rājēndracōḷa-maṇḍalam.[2] It is not, however, possible to ascertain how these *viṣayas* or districts were governed. The inscriptions, our only source of information, have little or nothing to offer. The Cendalūru Grant of Sarvalōkāśraya is the only record which alludes to certain officials who were in all probability connected with the provincial government. The royal edict registering the gift of the village was addressed to all the *naiyyōgika vallabhas* or the superintendents of the employees of the court present in the place, beside the *grāmēyakas* or the inhabitants of the village concerned.[3] This would imply that in the service of the court there were several classes of *naiyyōgikas* each with a superintendent of its own, who were somehow involved in the administration of the villages, and presumably also of the *viṣayas*, though it is not possible to state who they were and how they functioned in the provincial and local government. The *manneyas*, who are occasionally mentioned in the inscriptions, probably belong to the class of provincial officials. These were appointed by the government to the office

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1, IA. vii. p. 186 f, EI. viii. p. 236, IA. xx. p. 104, EI. xviii p. 313 Cp. 5 of 1916-17, EI. ix. p. 147.

2. SII. iv. No. 42.

3. EI. viii. p. 239.

and were placed in charge of districts to discharge the *manneya* duties the nature of which is nowhere explained. In lieu of salary, they were granted a few villages to enable them to discharge their duties.[1]

Beside the territory that was directly under the jurisdiction of the royal officers, large tracts of country were held by the nobility as their hereditary estates. A considerable section of the Eastern Cāḷukya nobility consisted of the collateral branches of ruling house such as those of Elamañcili, Piṭhāpuram and Mudigoṇḍa, and a few kshatriya families which were closely connected by marriage ties with the royal house like the Sarōnāthas of Kolanu and the Haihayas of Kōna. Birth was not the only qualification for nobility. Loyal and devoted service to the sovereign not only paved the way of men of other communities to high offices under the crown, but gained them not infrequently admission to the ranks of nobility.[2] The nobles seem to have exercised almost sovereign rights over their estates, and paid tribute to the government. They submitted to the royal authority only so long as the king was able to enforce his commands, and defied him and his officers whenever they could do so with impunity. They established themselves in their estates and formed a source of permanent danger to the throne. The most noteworthy of these were the descendants of Yuddhamalla I who allied themselves with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the hereditary enemies of the Cāḷukyas, and plunged the kingdom in a civil war lasting for over four generations.

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1. Cp. 3 of 1921-22.

2. SII. iv. 662 and 1165.

Village administration: Information about the village administration in the Eastern Cāḷukya times is scanty in the extreme. The inscriptions, the only source of our knowledge on the subject, have little or nothing to offer. They refer no doubt occasionally to encumbrances (*bandhas*) and taxes (*karas*), but throw no light on their character. The wording of the land grants, which are usually addressed to the *grāmēyakas* (the villagers) or the *rāṣṭrakūṭa pramukhas* (the chief cultivators) of the villages concerned, would seem to suggest that the internal administration of the village was in their hands. There is however reason to believe that in each village there was a representative of the crown who looked after its affairs. In the Pabhupaṟṟu Grant of Saktivarman I, it is stated that the king dismissed from office the *grāmaṇi* of the village, owing to his treasonous and disloyal activities and replaced him by another person who was loyal and devoted to his cause.[1] All the villages granted to brahmans, temples and other religious institutions like Pabhupaṟṟu were probably under the immediate control of an official called *grāmaṇi* whom the king appointed with the consent of the holder of the grant and whom he could remove from his office for misdemeanour. The duties of this officer are not known. He probably collected from the villagers the dues payable to the proprietor of the village, supervised the agricultural operations and the affairs of the village in general. The administrative arrangements of the villages directly under the government could not have been different; for kings and princes, while making gifts of villages to charitable and religious institutions as well as private individuals, transferred them usually without interfering with their administrative arrangements, and the

1. JTA. ii. p. 403.

recipients of the endowments seldom introduced any change to alter radically their character. It is not therefore unlikely that like Pabhupaṟṟu and other freehold villages, every village in the kingdom was under the authority of a *grāmaṇi* who was ultimately responsible to the king.

Population: The population of Vēṅgī as well as other parts of the coastal Telugu country was heterogeneous in character. The Cāḷukyan conquest brought in its train a large influx of people from abroad. Beside the military classes whose presence was necessary to uphold authority in a newly conquered country, a large body of civil population accompanied the victorious standards of Pulakēśin II and Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana and established themselves in the land. This must have resulted in some confusion as the people of the country had to make room for the new arrivals, who settled in considerable numbers in several parts of the country; but in course of time they adjusted themselves to their new surroundings and became completely united with the people into whose midst they came to live as conquerors.

Society was no doubt based on caste; and even the Buddhists and the Jains who originally disregarded it came gradually under its influence and adopted it with certain modifications to suit their needs. The existence of caste differences among the members of these communities is alluded to in the literature of the age. The bulk of the population was Hindu. Beside the four great traditional castes, a few minor communities like the Boyas and Śabaras are occasionally mentioned in the inscriptions; but the latter were far down in the scale of civilisation, and the part played by them in the social life of the nation was indeed insignificant.

The brahmans occupied the foremost place in society. They were still the leaders of thought and repositories of learning. They spent most of their time in the study and teaching of the *Vēdas* and the *Śāstras*; performed the Vedic sacrifices and propitiated the gods so that rains might fall in time and increase the prosperity of the land. They were held in high esteem by members of other castes, and kings and nobles honoured them by bestowing on them liberal gifts of land and money. The brahmans did not confine their activities to religious pursuits. As educated members of the community, their help was indispensable to the state to carry on the work of administration; and they were consequently encouraged to abandon their religious avocations and accept lucrative posts under the government. They therefore entered the service of state in large numbers, and helped the king in the government of the kingdom as counsellors, ministers, and members of civil service. They entered the army and enlisting themselves as soldiers fought the battles of the king. Several brahman warriors of distinction, who by dint of their merit rose to positions of the highest command, are mentioned in the inscriptions.

The kshatriyas who still formed the ruling caste were a flourishing community. They fell into two large groups called the Solar and the Lunar, according as they derived their descent from the Sun or the Moon. The Cōḷas and probably the Western Gangas belonged to the former, and the Cāḷukyas, the Haihayas, the Eastern Gangas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas to the latter. The Agnikulas who played such a prominent part in the history of the Northern and Western India were unknown in the South. Most of the nobles belonged to the kṣatriya caste; and they lived in small estates scattered all over the kingdom.

As they were exclusively devoted to the profession of fighting, they formed a permanent source of danger to public peace; and the chronic civil war which racked the kingdom for nearly two centuries must be attributed to a large extent to their restlessness and love of intrigue and fighting.

The kōmaṭis, as the vaisyas in the Telugu country were called, were exclusively devoted to trade. Though several records registering their benefactions to temples and other religious foundations have come down to us, much is not known about their activities. The town of Penugoṇḍa in the present West Godavari district was the principal seat of the community. The *Vaiśyapurāṇa*, a late work of doubtful value, mentions besides Penugoṇḍa, seventeen other towns, where the komaṭis of 714 *gotras* resided before the immolation of the virgin Vāsavī. According to this work, the members of the community living in each of these towns constituted themselves into a guild called *nakaram*, the members of which were known as *nakarams* or *seṭṭi-paṭṭaṇa-svāmis*. They usually met in the *mukha-maṇṭapa* or the front-hall of the local Nakarēśvara temple and transacted business of common communal and commercial interest. The *nakarams* of all the eighteen towns were incorporated into a federation with its headquarters at Penugoṇḍa. Like the other towns under its jurisdiction, it had also a *nakaram* which considered problems affecting the interests of the entire community throughout the country and concerted measures for the advancement of the common good. The executive of the federation was made up of a president and a body of ministers one of whom was the *samaya-mantri* or the minister for communal affairs.[1] Though the

1. *Vaiśyapurāṇam* 7 : 108.

foregoing account is based on a late communal *purāṇa*, written probably in the 16th century to enhance the social status of the community, it need not be rejected as entirely valueless, for such communal organizations were not unknown in the age of the Cāḷukyas. In the first place ,the existence of *nakarams* in several places in Karnāṭaka, is borne out by the evidence of contemporary Kanarese records ; and secondly, similar communal organizations flourished among some of the artisan classes even in Vēngī under the Cāḷukyas. The Telikas or the oil-mongers, for instance, had a communal association called 'Telika thousand'; and they obtained certain social privileges from Rājarāja Cōḍa Ganga, the Cōḷa viceroy of Vēngī under Kulōttunga I, in A D 1084.[1] Therefore, it is not unlikely that the kōmaṭis, the most influential mercantile community in the country, constituted themselves into a merchant guild for the advancement of trade and material well-being.

The śūdras formed the bulk of the population. Though no information is available about the structure of their society, it must have consisted, as at present, of several sub-castes differing from one another in their social customs and habits. They were mainly tillers of the soil and made their living by means of agriculture, and cattle-rearing. Some like the Telikas and weavers must have earned their livelihood by industrial arts. Good many of them followed the profession of arms, and provided the material for the army. The members of the various subdivisions of the śūdra community constituted in fact the rank and file of South Indian armies, a fact which contributed more than anything else to increase their importance. Several distinguished captains rose to

1. EI. vi. p. 35.

prominence, and gained by means of loyal and devoted service admission into the ranks of nobility. The Velanāḍus, Koṇḍapaḍamaṭis, Cāgīs, Paricchēdis &c. rose to fame in this fashion, and acquired the status of *sāmantas* and *māṇḍalikas* by the favour of the sovereign whom they pleased by their distinguished service in the field.

Information about the social life is indeed scanty. Polygamy was known and practised. Several Eastern Cāḷukya monarchs married more than one wife. The nobles and the wealthy people probably followed the example of their rulers. Concubinage appears to have been popular. Inscriptions frequently refer to the gifts made by the *lañja-peṇḍlams* or mistress-wives of several chiefs to temples. The existence of courtesans in large numbers attached to the courts of the king and nobles as well as the innumerable temples in the land must have fostered its growth and encouraged people to form irregular unions with members of the community without social opprobrium. Instances of regular marriage alliances with the courtesans were not unknown. Gonka I married a *pātra* or dancer attached to one of the temples in his kingdom. Though the courtesans followed prostitution as a profession they were not without commendable qualities. They cultivated the fine arts specially music and dance and pleased people by their learned and witty conversation. They were deeply religious in their own way; they not only served the gods by song and dance but made valuable gifts of land and money to the temples, and believed that their profession was no bar for their admission into heaven.

Religion: At the time of the Cāḷukyan conquest three important religions, Buddhism, Jainism, and

Hinduism prevailed in the east coast of the Telugu country. Of these Buddhism at one time dominant throughout the land was already decadent. Its monasteries once teeming with thousands of busy monks were practically deserted, when Huien Tsaing visited the country in the first half of the 7th century A.D.; and a few that still lingered within the old walls remained there more on account of their love of the sacred relics enshrined in the holy stupas than for the propagation of the Dharma. They too disappeared in course of time leaving no trace behind; and the famous *pañca* or five *ārāmas* which were the strongholds of Buddhistic faith lost entirely their character and were soon absorbed by the resurgent Hinduism. Buddha was, no doubt, continued to be worshipped at Amarārāma or Amarāvati, not however as the propounder of the Buddhist doctrines but as an incarnation of the Hindu god Viṣṇu. No wonder that the numerous records of the period do not even remotely allude to the religion of the Buddha.

The position of Jainism was different. The Jaina monks were very active. They seem to have made a serious attempt to bring the whole country under the influence of their religion. The deserted images met with in the ruined village sites all over the country show that Jaina settlements were numerous, and an appreciable section of the people paid homage to the Arhats and Tīrthankaras. This is corroborated by the evidence of epigraphy. Several inscriptions of the Eastern Cāḷukya monarchs and their subjects record the construction of *basadis* and temples and register the gift of lands and money for their maintenance. Jainism, however, never attained the position of the state religion. Some of the Eastern Cāḷukya kings, specially, Amma II Rājamahēndra,

showed considerable favour to the Jaina monks; but none, with the possible exception of Vimalāditya, became a *śrāvaka* and embraced the faith of Mahāvīra.

Hinduism was the national religion of the Telugu country throughout the Cāḷukya period. Though both Vaiṣṇavism and Saivism flourished in the country the former did not attain popularity. Some of the early kings of the dynasty were probably *bhāgavatas*; but Vaiṣṇavism soon lost the patronage of the royal family and had to recede into the background. Saivism, on the contrary, rose steadily in popular esteem, and became the religion of the masses. it played an important part in supplanting Buddhism and approptiated all the places of worship and pilgrimage, specially the *pañc-ārāmas* belonging to that faith. Popular devotion manifested itself in temple-building. To erect a shrine to God Siva, and provide for the maintenance of worship therein in an appropriate manner were considered acts of greatest merit; and all who could propitiate the deity in this fashion built temples for him and endowed them with rich gifts of land and money. Most of the Eastern Cāḷukya kings were devout Śaivas; they described themselves as *Parama-māhēśvaras* and encouraged the worship of the god by word and deed. Some of them undertook temple building on an elaborate scale. Vijayāditya II surnamed Narēndra-mṛgarāja is said to have built no less than one hundred and eight shrines dedicated to Śiva called after him *Narēndrēśvara* to commemorate his victories over his enemies; Yuddhamalla II erected a temple to the War-God, Kārtikēya at Bezwada; Cāḷukya Bhīma I constructed the famous temples at Drākṣārāmam and Cāḷukya-Bhīmavaram; and Rājarāja set up three shrines at

Kalidiṇḍi in memory of the three Cōḷa generals, who perished there in a battle fighting for him.

Temples played an important part in the national life. Besides being centres of religious worship, they exercised profound influence over other spheres of national life not directly connected with religion. In virtue of the large properties endowed on them by devotees, the temples became the owners of land-estates and cattle-farms, and employed in their service several labourers, and through them carried on the cultivation of the soil. They maintained a large staff of servants for carrying on the daily service of the temple and provided work for the followers of the nobler professions. The temple was the palace of God, the supreme lord of the universe. The temple establishment, therefore, was modelled on the lines of that of the royal palace; and the servants of the temple were divided just as in the royal palace into seventy-two class or *niyōgas*. As a consequence of this arrangement temples throughout the country employed in their service musicians, dancers, singers, reciters of the Vedas and Purāṇas and several others. The temples thus became the fostering-ground of fine-arts and learning and contributed much for the advancement of culture.

Religious life was not entirely confined to temples. Pilgrimage to holy places and *tīrthas* played an equally important part. Beside the five *ārāmas*, Bhimāpura, Ḍākarēmi, Pālakolanu, Drākṣārāma, and Amarāvati, the shrines of Mahāsēna at Cēbrōlu, Humkāra-Śankarī at Bidapura, Mallēśvara at Bezwaḍa attracted large number of pilgrims.[1] The temple of Mahāsēna at Cēbrōlu was specially noteworthy for the *jātra*, which was celebrated

1. SII. vi. 103.

there every year. The most important feature of the *jātra* was the grand procession in which the image of the God was carried from Cēbrōlu to Bezwada and back.

There were several monastic establishments in the country belonging both to the Jainas and the Śaivas. The Sarvalōkāśraya-Jinālaya, and the Kaṭakābharaṇa-Jinālaya, both built during the reign of Amma II[1] were the most important Jaina monasteries; the former belonged to Aḍḍakali-gaccha of Valahāригaṇa, and in the *sattrālaya* attached to it arrangements were made for feeding the *śramaṇas* of all the four castes. The latter was built for the benefit of the monks of the Yāpunīya Saṁgha to enable the members of the community to practise their vows undisturbed. More important than these were the S'aiva monasteries most of which belonged to the Kālā-mukha sect. The most important S'aiva monastery in the kingdom was at Bezwada attached to the temple of S'iva called Samastabhuvanāśrya, built by Narēndra-mṛgarāja-Vijayāditya II. Yuddamalla II built also another S'aiva monastery in the same city attached to the temple of Mahāsēna erected by him. During the 11th century A.D., owing to the active intercourse with the Cōḷa country, monks from the south migrated to Vēngi and established themselves at Drākṣārāma the most sacred of the Saiva places of worship in the Telugu country at that time. The monasteries played an important part in the national life. The monks to whichever faith they belonged did not live in seclusion preferring a life of meditation and study. They took an active interest in the lives of the people and strove hard to promote their welfare They maintained free boarding houses to feed the poor, the blind and

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1. EI. ix. p. 49.

the maimed; established hospitals to treat the sick and the afflicted and set up schools for teaching Vedas, *āgamas*, and the *śāstras*. The monasteries therefore catered to the needs of the people and became the centres of light and learning.

Literature: Telugu literature owes its origin to the Cāḷukyas. Speaking of the origin of Telugu poetry, Nanne Cōḍadeva states, in the introduction to his *Kumāra-sambhavam*, that at first poetry was composed only in *mārga* or classical style; but the Cāḷukya king and others caused poetry to be written in the *dēśi* or the popular style and gave permanancy to Telugu in the Andhra country.[1] Though Nanne Cōḍa does not disclose the the name of the Cāḷukya king who was the originator of *dēśi* poetry in Telugu, some have seen in this statement an allusion to Rājarāja, the patron of Nannayabhaṭṭa, the author of the first three books of the *Āndhra Mahābhā-ratam*. This is, however, untenable. As Telugu verse makes its appearance for the first time in the inscriptions of the time of Guṇaga Vijayāditya III who ruled Vēngī from A.D. 849 to 892, it is not unreasonable to hold that the Cāḷukya king referred to by Nanne Cōḍa must have lived some time earlier. The earliest beginnings of Telugu poetry may therefore be assigned tentatively to the commencement of the 9th century A.D. In spite of the fact that it started under royal patronage, its progress was remarkably slow. No literary work of any value was produced during the succeeding two centuries; and the period remains a complete blank in the history of Telugu literature.

The cause of the slow development of Telugu literature in the first two centuries after its inception is

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1. *Kum* 1 : 23.

perhaps attributable to the lack of popular enthusiasm. Although the Eastern Cāḷukyas cut themselves completely off from Karṇāṭaka after the establishment of the Rāṣṭrakūta monarchy and identified themselves with the people over whom they came to rule, the intelligentia in certain parts of the kingdom, specially in Kamma-nāḍu which was situated in the neighbourhood of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominions, were still drawn towards Kannaḍa, which they preferred to the undeveloped indigenous language of the country as the vehicle of their poetic thought. Three great Kannaḍa writers, Ponna, Pampa and Nāgavarma I were closely associated with Kamma-nāḍu: the first composed his *Śāntipurāṇa* at the instance of two brahman noblemen, Ponnamayya and Nallapayya of Punganūr and dedicated to their common *guru*, Jinēndra Candra. The other two were Jaina brahmins born in Vēṅgipaḷu *i.e.*, Vangīpuram in the Narasaraopet taluk in the present Guntur district. Of these Pampa was the author of *Vikramārjuna-Vijaya* and *Ādipurāṇa* which are considered to be the greatest poems in the Kannaḍa language. Nāgavarma also composed two important works, *Cchandōmbudhi*, a treatise on Kannaḍa prosody, and *Kādambari* an adaptation in Kannaḍa of Bāṇa's great Saṁskṛt romance. Though these authors wrote in Kannaḍa, their works, especially those of Pampa, exercised considerable influence over the early Telugu writers and stimulated them to essay poetical compositions in their own language.

The only Telugu poet who can be assigned definitely to this age is Nannayabhaṭṭa. He was the *purōhit* and poet-laureatte of Rājarāja-Narēndra (1018-9-61 A.D.); he was an erudite scholar well-versed in Vedas, *śāstras*, *itihāsas* and *purāṇas*; and to counteract the influence of Pampa's great Jaina *Bhārata*, he undertook, at the

instance of his master, to translate into Telugu the great epic of Vyāsa, and present a correct version of the story of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas to his contemporaries. Nannayabhaṭṭa did not carry on his work single-handed. He received considerable help from Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, one of the *pradhānis* of Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara I, who was representing his master in the Eastern Cāḷukya court. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was an eminent scholar proficient in languages. He could compose poetry in Telugu and Kannaḍa besides Saṁskṛt and Prākṛts. Nannayabhaṭṭa could not however finish the work he had undertaken. His *Āndhra Mahābhārata* comes to an abrupt end in the middle of the third book. Incomplete though it is, Nannayabhaṭṭa's work is a masterpiece of art. It has set the norm for epic poetry in Telugu. Graceful and dignified, it has a charm rarely met with elsewhere in Telugu literature. As a model of sweet, gliding and elegant verse, it stands unrivalled.

APPENDIX I

ON THE COMMENCEMENT OF KULŌTTUNGA I'S RULE IN VĒNGI

Contrary to the general belief that Kulōttuṅga I's rule over Vēngī commenced just about the time when he ascended the Cōḷa throne in A.D. 1070, the Government Epigraphists have recently put forward the view that he succeeded his father Rājarāja in A.D. 1060 or 1061, from which date he is said to have reckoned his regnal years.

"Another inscription of the Cōḷa ruler in Telugu is at Guḍimūla in the West Godavari district. It gives the name of the king as Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja, and is dated in Śaka 1017 (=A.D. 1095-96) in the 35th year of the king's reign. The date cited here would show that the king counted his regnal years from A.D. 1061, which is known to be the last date of his father Rājarāja who ruled at Vēngī. This fact is important since it is held that Vijayāditya VII, the paternal uncle of Kulōttuṅga I, seized the throne of Vēngī at the time of his brother's death and placed his son Śaktivarman on it. The present record, on the other hand, would show that Kulōttuṅga I succeeded his father on the throne of Vēngī in A.D. 1061, thus disproving the view that Śaktivarman usurped the throne."[1]

The late Rao Bahadur C. R. K. Charlu advanced a similar theory a few years ago in his Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy for 1932-33. He not only con-

1. Ancient India, No. 5, Jan. 1949, p. 56.

tends that Kulōttuṅga I succeeded to the throne of Vēngī immediately after his father's death but that he was the latter's co-regent during the last three years of his reign. "Two inscriptions of this dynasty which have been secured during the year purport to belong to king Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana-Mahārāja. One of these coming from Rājahmundry (No. 400) is in Sanskrit verse and Telugu prose and the date is given in the former portion as Śaka 994 expressed by the chronogram '*yuga-nanda-randhra*' and in the latter portion as the 1(2)th year of the king. The other record, which comes from Yalamañcili (No. 396), is composed entirely in Telugu prose and gives the date as Śaka 1017 which was the [35th] year of the king's reign. Both these dates furnish the Śaka year 982 as the initial year of the king. Among the inscriptions of Drākṣārāma are three records belonging to Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana-Mahārāja, dated with reference to the same initial year *i.e.* (1) SII. Vol. IV.-No. 1011 dated in Śaka 995=13th year (2) *ibid* No. 1012, dated Śaka 990=8th year and (3) *ibid*, No. 1013, dated in Śaka 986 =3rd year. Of these the last would appear to yield Śaka 983 as the initial year, but this small difference of one year is generally met with in epigraphs. Thus it would appear that the king of the two inscriptions under review must be identical with the one to whom the three Drākṣārāma records belong.......

"........It is however almost certain that the records in question belong to the Cāḷukya-Cōḷa king Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa I, who is designated as Viṣṇuvardhana in several records of the Telugu country. The important fact that the inscriptions referred to above yield Śaka 982 (A.D. 1060) as the initial year suggests that the king meant was not Vijayāditya VII who assumed no viceregal authority

in A.D. 1060, but Kulōttuṅga I who must have been the co-regent of his father, Rājarāja I during the last three years of the latter's reign (A.D. 1060-1063). This view gains support from the suggestion made in the Piṭhāpuram inscription that Kulottuṅga I was at first a *Yuvarāja* (IA. Vol. XX, p. 276 f," [1].

The following points emerge from these passages :—

1. That king Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana, mentioned in these inscriptions, which indicate Śaka 982=A.D. 1060-61 as the initial date for his rule, is identical with Kulōttuṅga I ;

2. that Kulōttuṅga not only succeeded his father Rājarāja on the throne of Vēṅgī but during the last three years of the latter's reign he was co-regent with him ; and

3. that this disproves the view that Śaktivarman II usurped the throne.

Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana is not a proper name strictly so called but a *biruda* commonly borne by all the kings of Vēṅgī, since the accession of Dānārṇava. For some reason unknown at present the old practice of assuming the names of Viṣṇuvardhana and Vijayāditya alternately fell into disuse ; and all the kings,—Dānārṇava, Śaktivarman I, Vimalāditya, Rājarāja, Śaktivarman II, Vijayāditya VII, and Kulōttuṅga I—assumed the title of Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana. Though the inscriptions under consideration do not specify the name of the Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana mentioned therein, the late Saka dates coupled with high regnal years quoted in some of them seem to point to a king whose rule lasted from

1. ARE. 1932-33, Part ii, p. 7.

Śaka 982 to 1017. As Kulōttuṅga I was the son of Rājarāja who died in Śaka 982, and as he was ruling Vēṅgī in Śaka 1017, the conclusion that he was the Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana mentioned in all the records cited above appears at first sight quite reasonable. There are weighty objections against this. The evidence of contemporary records shows that on the death of Rājarāja, his half-brother Vijayāditya VII seized the kingdom and installed his son Śaktivarman II upon the throne. The Telugu Academy Plates of Śaktivarman II dated Śaka 983 (=A.D. 1061) state explicitly that 'Vijayāditya (VII) who is a step-brother of Rājarāja........captured the great kingdom of his brother with great valour after his death'.[1] The Ryāli Plates of Vijayāditya dated in his 12th regnal year not only repeat this statement but supplement it with the information that after a rule of one year Śāktivarman II was killed in battle; and consequently Vijayāditya himself assumed the reins of government and ruled the kingdom up to the time of the issue of these records.[2] That Vijayāditya was ruling over Vēṅgī during this interval is borne out by the evidence of other inscriptions. An epigraph at Drākṣārāmam dated Saka 987 (=A.D. 1065-66) registers a gift to the temple by Sōmaladēvī, the daughter of Rājamārtaṇḍa Srī Viṣṇuvardhana Bejayitadēva.[3] The Maṇimangalam inscription of the Cōḷa emperor Vīra Rājēndra, dated in his 5th regnal year (A.D. 1067), refers to the reinstatement of Vijayādityan whose broad arms bore weapons of war against him in the kingdom of Vēṅgī.[4] It follows from this that on the death of Rājarāja in

1. JAHRS. V. p. 44.
2. Ibid IX. Part i, p. 31 f.
3. SII. IV. 1007.
4. Ibid iii. 30.

A D. 1060-61, Vēngī was conquered by Vijayāditya and that his son Śaktivarman II and himself were ruling the country from A.D. 1061-72.

Another important fact which has a direct bearing on this subject must be mentioned here. In sevaral of his inscriptions in the Telugu country, Kulōttuṅga I refers to himself as *Saptamo-Viṣṇuvardhana* i.e. Viṣṇuvardhana VII.[1] If the number of kings with the title Viṣṇuvardhana is counted from the time of Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, Kulōttuṅga I cannot be regarded as the seventh king of Vēngī to bear this title; for, up to the time of Amma I, seven kings bearing this title had already ruled. The titles of kings who ruled over Vēngī during the period of civil war which lasted for six or seven years after the death of Amma I are not known; but Cāḷukya Bhīma II, who put an end to the civil war and restored peace and order in the kingdom, was a Viṣṇuvardhana, and so were Dānārṇava and all his successors. It is evident from this that Kulōttuṅga I could not have been the seventh king of the E. Cāḷukya family to bear the title of Viṣṇuvardhana. How then are we to understand the term *Saptamo Viṣṇuvardhana* occurring in Kulōttuṅga I's inscriptions? To understand the real significance of the terms correctly, kings bearing the title of Viṣṇuvardhana should be reckoned not from Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana I but from Dānārṇava with whom began the new practice of all the kings assuming the title of Viṣṇuvardhana instead of Viṣṇuvardhana and Vijayāditya alternately. Counting from Dānārṇava, six kings viz, (1) Dānārṇava, (2) Śaktivarman I, (3) Vimalāditya, (4) Rājarāja, (5) Śaktivarman II, and (6) Vijayāditya VII all of whom bore the title of Viṣṇuvardhana, ruled in

1. Ibid IV 1020.

Vēngī before the accession of Kulōttuṅga I. That is why he speaks of himself as *Saptamo-Viṣṇuvardhana* or Viṣṇuvardhana VII. If this explanation of the expression '*Saptamo-Viṣṇuvardhana*' is correct—I believe it is—it follows as a corollary that Kulōttuṅga I counted both Śaktivarman II and Vijayāditya VII as his predecessors.

If Kulōttuṅga I reckoned, as he actually seems to have done, Śaktivarman II and Vijayāditya VII among his predecessors, what then is the explanation of the inscriptions of Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana which indicate Śaka 982 as the initial date for his rule? The Government Epigraphers dispose of the question by assuming that the king mentioned in them is Kulōttuṅga I. This solution is far too simple to be correct. The inscriptions cited by them do not all belong to the same monarch. During the period under consideration, besides the Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana with the initial date Śaka 982, Śaktivarman II as well as Vijayāditya VII, who ruled, according to the unanimous testimony of the Ṭēki, Cellūr and Piṭhāpuram Grants of Kulōttuṅga I, for a period of fifteen years over Vēngī before Vijayāditya's death in A.D. 1076, bore sway over the kingdom[1]. As Vijayāditya VII is thus stated to have ruled over Vēngī from A.D. 1061 to 1076, and as there is no record in the Telugu country definitely assignable to Kulōttuṅga I during this interval, it is reasonable to ascribe all the inscriptions at Drākṣārāma and other places of Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana with low regnal years ranging from 3rd to the 13th, cited by Rao Bahadur C. R. K. Charlu in ARE. 1932 33 ii para 7, to the former. Moreover, it is extremely doubtful whether the Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana, whose 35th regnal year corresponds, according to the Yelamañcili and Guḍimūla epigraphs, to Śaka 1017,

1. EI. VI, 35. SII. I. 39, IA. IX, p. 427, EI. v. 10.

can be identified with Kulōttuṅga I. For, in the first place, there is no epigraphic evidence which, as pointed out already, testifies to Kulōttuṅga's rule over Vēngī at this time. Secondly, a scrutiny of inscriptions at Drākṣārāmam reveals the existence of another Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana about the same time The following inscriptions must be taken into consideration in this connection.

Ref.	No.	Śaka Year	Regnal Year	Date of accession,
SII. IV	1009	1014	23	Ś. 991
„	1015	1006	15	Ś. 991
„	1016	1009	18	Ś. 991
„	1282	1036	45	Ś. 991

Besides these four records which indicate Ś 991 as the initial date of Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana, there is another (SII. IV. 1224), dated Śaka 1043 corresponding to the 49th regnal year of the king which yields Śaka 994 as the initial date of his reign. Thus inscriptions between Śaka 1006 and 1043, suggest three initial dates *viz.*, Ś. 982, Ś. 991 and Ś. 994 for the reign of Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana. It is needless to point out that the same king could not have had as many as three different initial dates. On the other hand, they seem to point to the existence of three different princes with the title Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana at this time. Though it is not possible to identify all of them in the present state of our knowledge, there need be no doubt about the identity of the Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana with the initial date S 991 with Kulōttuṅga I, for that is the date of the accession of that emperor according to the testimony of his inscriptions.

The other two Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhanas must have been the members of the collateral branches of the Eastern Cāḷukya royal family, ruling at Piṭhāpuram and Elamañcili.

From the foregoing discussion it is evident that (1) on the death of Rājarāja in Śaka 982, Vijayāditya VII seized Vēngī, and placed on the throne his own son Śaktivarman II. As the latter died in Śaka 984 after a rule of one year, Vijayāditya VII himself assumed the reins of the government and ruled the country until the time of his death in Śaka 998; (2) that Kulōttuṅga I was not a co-regent of his father during the last three years of the latter's rule; (3) that he did not reckon his regnal years from Saka 982 as stated by the epigraphists but from Śaka 991; and (4) that Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana with the initial date in Śaka 982 was not Kulōttuṅga I, but like the other Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana with the initial date Śaka 994, he must have been a member of one of the collateral branches of the Eastern Cāḷukya royal family.

APPENDIX II

Dramila=āhava or Cauḷika-raṇa

Saktivarman I claims to have won distinction in *Dramil=āhava* or *Cauḷika-raṇa*, while he was yet in his *śaiśava* or *bālya*. In the Pabhupaṟṟu Grant it is said,—

Yaśya kaṇṭhīravasy=ēva śaiśavam samaśòbhata
śauryēṇ=ābhīla-śuṇḍāla-nirbhidā Dramil=āhavē[1].

According to the Telugu Academy Plates, however, it is stated that it was in the *Cauḷika-raṇa* that he won fame.

Bālyē kīrti-kalābhi-Cauḷika raṇe
yēna-vraṇ=ōdbhāsinā.[2]

It is generally assumed that these two records refer to one and the same event and that the Dramilas with whom he fought were the Cōḷas. This battle, as stated in these records, was fought while yet Śaktivarman was a *śiśu* or *bāla*. Now, Śaktivarman came to the throne in A.D. 999-1000. As he had to live in exile for a period of twenty-seven years after the death of his father Dānārṇava in A.D. 973, he could not have been a *bāla* or *śiśu* at the time of his succession or at any time subsequent to it. Therefore, the battle with the Dramilas or Cōḷas must have taken place only during the short

1. JTA. ii. p. 409,
2. Cp. 15 of 1917-18.

reign of his father, from A.D. 970 to 973. Assuming the correctness of this deduction, an attempt may be made to envisage the circumstances in which Śaktivarman I had to engage himself in a war with the Dramilas or the Cōḷas. On the evidence of the Kandyam Plates which register the appointment of the Mudugoṇḍa Cāḷukya chiefs, Malliyarāja and Goṇḍiyarāja as the governors of Pottapi-nāḍu, it has been stated that Dānārṇava towards the close of his reign conquered from the Vaidumba king, Bhuvana Trinētra, Pottapi nāḍu—*ie.*, the country extending across the Eastern Ghats from Rājampēṭa in the Cuddapah district to Kālahasti in the Chittoor district — that as a consequence he came into conflict with the Cōḷas, who were already in possession of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, and that young Śaktivarman I won his spurs in one of the battles that took place on the occasion. The soundness of this inference, however, depends on the correct location of the Pottapi-nāḍu mentioned in the Kandyam Plates. Besides Pottapi, which is the name of a well-known village in the Rājampēṭa taluk of the Cuddapah district, the Pampāvatīnāma-nadī, Mīnumbāka-nāṇḍu and Vedeguna-ḍebbadi are said to have been its boundaries on the east, west and the north respectively.[1] The situation of Mīnumbāka-nāṇḍu and Vedeguna-ḍebbadi is not known; but Pampā or Pampāvatī is the name of the river Tungabhadrā which flows through the Bellary district and falls into the Kṛṣṇā at Sangamēśvaram in the Kurnool district. The Pampāvatī-nadī mentioned in the Kandyam Plates cannot be identified with the Tungabhadrā for, in the first place, the Tungabhadrā is far away from Pottapi, and it is situated not in the east of it, as stated in the inscription, but far away in the

1. JAHRS. xi. p. 88.

north-west. There is, however, a river, the Suvarṇamukharī, which skirts along the eastern borders of Pottapi. It is not unlikely that Suvarṇamukharī might have also been known as Pampāvatī in ancient times. If this surmise is right, the circumstances in which Śaktivarman I had involved himself in the *Dramil=āhava*, or the Cāuḷika raṇa might have been even as described in the body of the present work.

An element of doubt, however, creeps in, on account of the existence of another tract of territory known also as Pottapi-nāṇḍu in a different part of the Telugu country. An epigraph at Cāḷukya-Bhīmavaram in the Cocanada taluk of the East Godavari district dated A.D. 1207 registers the gift by a certain Sankyarāja, an illegitimate son of Nunganānti Semmangirāja of Nāgavaṁśa, of the village of Naḍupūru in the Pottapi-nāṇḍu.[1] It is obvious that the village of Naḍupūru and Pottapi-nāṇdu in which it was included must have been situated somewhere in the neighbourhood of Cāḷukya-Bhīmavaram. In the Akkalapūṇḍi Grant dated A.D. 1368, it is stated that Singaya Nāyaka, who was ruling Kōṭipurī (*i.e.*, Koṭṭhām in East Godavari district) on behalf of his brother, Mummaḍi Nāyaka, 'founded a town called Mummaḍivīḍu on the bank of the river Pampā and made it his capital'.[2] This town has been identified with the village of Mummaḍivaram in the East Godavari district.[3] Though these inscriptions are late in date, it is not unreasonable to believe on the strength of their evidence that there was in Southern Kaḷinga a district called Pottapi nāṇḍu corresponding to a part of the East Goda-

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1. SII. v. 55.
2. ARE. 1913, Part ii, p. 70.
3. C. Vīrabhadra Rao : *History of the Āndhras*, iii, p. 123.

vari district. This might very well have been the district of Pottapi-nāṇḍu which Dānārṇava granted as an appanage to the Mudugoṇḍa Cāḷukya chiefs, Malliyarāja and Goṇḍiyarāja. If this identification of Pottapi-nāṇḍu and the Pampā river is admitted as correct, there are no grounds for supposing that Dānārṇava ever subjugated the Pottapi-nāḍu in Southern Telugu country, and came, as a consequence, into conflict with the Cōḷas of Tanjore.

What then could have been the circumstances in which Śaktivarman I won distinction in *Dramil=āhava* or *Cāuḷika-raṇa* These expressions should not perhaps be construed as *tṛitīyā-tatpuruṣa* but as *ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa* compounds; and they mean 'war of the Dramilas or Cōḷas' and not 'war with the Dramilas.' If this interpretation is not unreasonable, then it may be suggested that Śaktivarman I merely participated in a war among the Dramilas or Coḷas in their own country either in an individual capacity or as the representative of his father. This is not improbable, considering the relationship that existed between the Eastern Cāḷukya and Cōḷa royal families. A daughter of Cāḷukya Bhīma II named Kundava was married to Ariñjaya, one of the sons of Parāntaka I.[1]

1. 587 of 1920. ARE. 1921. ii. 26. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (Cōḷas. i. p. 183) is, however, inclined to dispute this on two grounds: (1) 'Such an alliance between the Cōḷas and the Cāḷukyas in this period when the Cōḷas were reduced to virtual subordination to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas seems hardly likely.' This objection is not serious. The marriage alliance must have been contracted before the Rāṣṭrakūṭa conquest of the Cōḷa kingdom for the reign of Cāḷukya Bhīma came to an end in A.D. 945, some four

It follows from this that Dānārṇava was the brother of Vīmayan Kundavai and brother-in-law of Ariñjaya. Another interesting fact which clearly indicates Dānārṇava's connection with the Tamil country, if not actually with the Cōḷa court, must be noted here. An epigraph at Tiruvāiyāṟu in the Tanjore district dated in the 22nd year of Rājarāja I (A.D. 1007), registers a gift to the local temple of Śiva by Vīmayan Vambavai, the *dēvī* of Śaḷukki

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years before the Rāṣṭrakūṭa conquest. There is reason to believe that the formation of such an alliance was most likely. Amōghavarṣa III and his son Kṛṣṇa III, were not well disposed towards the Cōḷas, since the time of their usurpation of the throne of Gōvinda IV; for, Parāntaka I offered asylum to Gōvinda IV in his dominions. (EI. xxvi. p. 232.) Though Cāḷukya Bhima II overthrew Yuddhamalla II and his Rāṣṭrakūṭa allies in A.D. 935 and declared his independence, he could not have failed to see that the successors of Gōvinda IV would renew their efforts to subjugate Vēngī. It is natural under the circumstances that Cōḷas and Cāḷukyas should have joined together to fight against their common enemy and cemented their friendship by means of a marriage alliance. (2) Professor Nilakanta Sastri's second objection that the father of Kundavai was a certain Araiyan Ādittan Vīman and not Cāḷukya Bhīma II cannot easily be rebutted, though it is not supported by any independent evidence. The simultaneous attack of Kṛṣṇa III on Amma II and Parāntaka I immediately after A.D. 945 leaves on the mind an impression that there must have existed some sort of an alliance between the Eastern Cāḷukyas and the Cōḷas. It is, therefore, likely that the father-in-law of Ariñjaya was Cāḷukya Bhima II rather than the obscure nobleman Ādittan Vīman.

Vīmayan and the daughter of Vañjayan Peṟṟappai.[1] Salukki Vīmayan mentioned in this record is obviously Dānārṇava who was also known as Bhīma.[2] The parents of Vambavai were undoubtedly Tamils, and owing to his family connections with the Cōḷa royal family and nobility, Dānārṇava was naturally inclined to take an interest in the affairs of the Tamil country. The Cōḷa royal family was torn with dissensions. Sundara Cōḷa who succeeded his grandfather Parāntaka I in A.D. 955, died at Kāñcī in A.D. 968. The succession to the throne was disputed; his son, Āditya II Karikāla whom perhaps he nominated as his successor proclaimed himself king and assumed the title of Parakēsari; but Uttama Cōḷa, the son of his senior paternal grand-uncle, Gaṇḍarāditya, questioned his right to rule the kingdom; he also assumed the title of Parakēsari and proclaimed himself king. A civil war broke out. It lasted for four years. The parties seem to have been evenly balanced; and feeling doubtful of his success, Uttama Cōḷa had recourse to questionable methods and got rid of his rival by means of assassination. This, however, did not make him the undisputed master of the kingdom; for

1. 217 of 1894, SII. v. 516.
2. There are three Cāḷukya monarchs of the name of Bhīma who may be considered in this context, viz., Cāḷukya Bhīma II (A.D. 934-45), Dānārṇava (A.D. 969-70—972-73), and Vimalāditya (A.D. 1011-18). Of these three the first and the last may be left out of consideration. The first, because he was too early. It is unlikely that his wife was still living in A.D. 1007, sixty-two years after his death. The last because he did not assume the title of Bhīma until after his coronation in A.D. 1011. There remains only Dānārṇava. As his rule came to a violent end in his third regnal year, and his sons were still alive and ruling, it is not unreasonable to suppose

Aruṃoḻivarmā, the younger brother of Āditya II, continued the struggle. Though it is said that he refused the kingdom, notwithstanding the entreaties of his subjects, because his paternal uncle coveted it, and Madhurāntaka i.e. Uttama Cōḷa was obliged to instal him in the position of *yuvarāja*, it is obvious that the civil war ended in a compromise. Aṟumoḻivarmā agreed to accept Uttama as the king, and the latter, in return, made him *yuvarāja* and recognized him as the heir apparent to the throne.[1]

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that Śaḷukki Vīmayan, the husband of Vambavai, the daughter of Vīmayan and Vanjayan Peṟṟappai was none other than Dānārṇava.

1. The chronology of the Cōḷa kings adopted here is based on the following facts :—

Parāntaka ruled upto A.D. 955 (200 of 1931-32). Rājarāja I ascended the throne in A.D. 985. Between these two dates there is an interval of thirty years. During the interval Uttama Cōḷa the immediate predecessor of Rājārāja ruled for sixteen years. This yields (A.D. 985—15=) A.D. 970 as the date of the commencement of the reign of Uttama. The chronological data furnished by Uttama's inscriptions is not quite in agreement with this date. Five records deserve notice in this connection.

(1)	136 of 1926	2nd year	22nd April 969 A.D.	- 968 (accession)
(2)	240 of 1911	13th year	9th June 982 A.D.	- 970 ,,
(3)	265 of 1907	13th year Kali 4083	981-2 A.D.	- 969-70 ,,
(4)	245 of 1911	4th year	22nd April 975 A.D.	- 972 ,,
(5)	229 of 1911	8th year	30th June 979 A.D.	- 972 ,,

These five inscriptions yield three different dates for the commencement of Uttama Cōḷa's reign, (1) 968 A.D.

Dānārṇavā must have taken a keen interest in the fortunes of Ariñjaya's descendants and it is not unlikely that he took their side in the civil war between them and Uttama Cōḷa and the *Dramil-āhava* or *Cauḷika-raṇa* in which Śaktivarman I distinguished himself was fought in this connection.

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(2) 969-70 A.D. and (3) 972 A.D. The reason for this conflict in the evidence of inscriptions is not quite apparent. If we take A.D. 968 as the starting point and subtract from it 955, the last date of Parāntaka I, we get 13 which is exactly the duration of Sundara Cōḷa's reign. On the other-hand, if we take A.D. 972 as the starting point and deduct as before 955, we get 17 which is the sum total of the years of the rule of Sundara Cōḷa (13) and Āditya II (4). From this the following inferences may be drawn: (1) On the death of Parāntaka I, he was succeeded by his grandson Sundara Cōḷa who ruled upto A D. 968. (2) After his death his son Āditya II, as well as his cousin Uttama Cōḷa proclaimed themselves kings. A civil war followed which continued upto A.D. 972, when at the instigation of Uttama, Aditya II was murdered. (3)Soon after as a result of a compromise between Uttama and Arumoḷivarma, the civil war came to an end. The foregoing reconstruction of the course of events accounts for two out of the three starting points mentioned above; but for the third, A.D. 969-70, no explanation is possible in the present state of our knowledge.

APPENDIX III

THE PENNĒṚU COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF

ŚAKTIVARMAN I

स्वस्ति श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारीतिपुत्राणां कौशिकीवरप्रसादलब्धराज्यानां मातृगणपरिपालितानां स्वामिमहासेनपादानुध्यातानां भगवन्नारायणप्रसादितवरवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृतारातिमण्डलानाम् अश्वमेधावभृथस्नानपवित्रीकृतवपुषां चालुक्यानां कुलमलंकरिष्णोः सत्याश्रयवल्लभेन्द्रस्य भ्राता कुब्जविष्णुवर्धनोऽष्टादशवर्षाणि वेङ्गीदेशमपालयत् । तदात्मजो जयसिंहस्त्रिंशतम् । तदनुजेन्द्रराजनन्दनो विष्णुवर्धनो नव । तत्सूनुर्मङ्गियुवराजः पञ्चविंशतम् । तत्पुत्रो जयसिंहस्त्रयोदशम् । तदवरजः कोक्किलिः षण्मासान् । तस्य ज्येष्ठभ्राता कुब्जविष्णुवर्धनस्तमुच्चाट्य सप्तत्रिंशतम् । तत्पुत्रो विजयादित्यभट्टारकोऽष्टादश । तत्पुत्रो विष्णुवर्धनः षट्त्रिंशतम् ।

तत्सूनुर्भानुभासो रणविगणनया नीलकण्ठालयानाम्
सङ्ग्रामारामकानां सललितरमणीसंपदां सत्पदानाम् ।
कृत्वा प्रोत्तुङ्गमष्टोत्तरशतमभुनग्वीरधीरोऽष्टयुक्त ।
श्चत्वारिंशत् समाः क्ष्मां जननुतविजयादित्यनामा नरेन्द्रः ॥ १

तत्सूनुः सततमनूनदानवृष्ट्या
दीनांधद्विजगणिकार्थिसस्यकस्य ।
सन्तोषं सकलमवापयन्नपाङ्गां
अध्यर्धं किल कलिविष्णुवर्धनोऽब्दम् ॥ २

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* Pennēṛu is a village near Rajamundry. It is not known where the original plates of the record are available but a faulty copy of it is found in the Elliot collection (Vol. I, pp. 348-358) of the Madras Oriental Manuscripts' Library. As this contains some new material and is otherwise nct easily available I am reproducing it here. I am obliged to Dr. V. Raghavan and Messrs. M. Ramakrishna Kavi, G. Harihara Sastri and H. Seshayyangar for helping me to correct the text.

तत्प्रियतनयः ॥

अङ्गात्संग्रामरङ्गे निजलसदसिना मङ्गिराजोत्तमाङ्गम्
तुङ्गाद्रेश्शृङ्गमुर्व्यामशनिरिव मुदापातयत् कन्नराङ्कम् ।
निश्शङ्कं सङ्किलेन प्रथितजनपदाद्दुर्गमान्निर्गमय्य
द्रागधावन् यः प्रवेश्य प्रभुरभयमनाः प्रत्यपाद्वेङ्गाङ्कम् ॥ ३

सः श्रीमान् विजयादित्यभूपतिर्भ्रातृभिस्सह ।
चत्वारिंशत् समाः सार्धं चतुर्भिरभुनग्भुवम् ॥ ४

तद्भ्रातुर्विक्रमादित्यभूपतेः सच्चमूपतेः ।
विलसत्काण्ठिकोद्दामकण्ठस्य विनयो नयी ॥ ५

दीनानाथातुराणां द्विजवरसमितेर्याचकानां यतीनां
नानादेशागतानां पटुवटुनटसद्गायकानां कवीनाम् ।
बन्धूनामन्धकानामभिलषितफलश्राणनाद्रक्षणाढ्यो
मातेव त्रिंशदब्दान् भुवमभुनगसौ चारुचालुक्यभीमः ॥ ६

तत्पुत्रः स्वभुजासिखण्डितरिपुक्ष्माभृद्वलाद्वासबो
जित्वाशां विरजे प्रतिष्ठितजयस्तम्भः पटिष्ठो रणे ।
स्वर्णारूढतुलोऽत्र बाढमतुलो धात्रीतले क्षत्रियो
मित्राभः परिरक्षति स्म विजयादित्यः समार्धं धराम् ॥ ७

तस्यात्मजः प्रणतवैरिशिरोविलग्नरत्नद्विरेफपरिचुम्बितपादपद्मः ।
मेरुं हसंस्तुलितहाटकराशिभासा वर्षाणि सप्तसमपाद्भुवमम्मराजः ॥ ८

तत्सुतं विजयादित्यं बालमुच्चाट्य लीलया ।
ताळाधिपतिराक्रम्य मासमेकमपाद्भुवम् ॥ ९

तं जित्वा युधि चालुक्यभीमभूमिपतेस्सुतः ।
विक्रमादित्यभूपोऽपान्मासानेकादश क्षितिम् ॥ १०

ततस्तालपराजस्य सूनुः सूनृतवाक्प्रभुः ।
युद्धमल्लधराधीशः सप्तवर्षाण्यपाद्भुवम् ॥ ११

तं युद्धमल्लमवनेर्विनिपात्य भीमः
श्रीमान् चलुक्यतिलकः कलयन्नुदात्तः ।
द्वैमातुरः सुमतिरम्मनराधिपस्य
स द्वादशाब्दपरिमाणमपाद्धरित्रीम् ॥ १२

तत्सूनुरम्मराजो राजाभवद(धीतिताविराज?)गुणः ।
आजौ निजगजचोदनविघटितपरनृपतिगजघटाघटनः ॥ १३

अञ्चितामितमतिः परभूभृत्पञ्चतोपगमनैकविधानः ।
सञ्चितामलयशाः स धरित्रीं पञ्चविंशतिसमाः समरक्षत् ॥ १४

भूनाथभीमतनयः समरेषु चण्डः
भानुप्रतापमभिहत्य तमम्मराजम् ।
दानार्णवक्षितिपतिः समपादजस्र-
दानार्चितार्थिनिकरस्त्रिसमाः स धात्रीम् ॥ १५

वर्षाणि सप्तविंशतिरादानार्णवनृपादुपेन्द्रसमात् ।
सकलिङ्गमान्ध्रमण्डलमस्वामिकमेव विधिवशाज्जातम् ॥ १६

पश्चाद्दानार्णवस्य प्रथितगुणगणालंकृतेरिद्धकीर्ते-
रार्यादेव्याश्च सूनुः शशिविशदयशाः शक्तिवर्मा नृपोऽभूत् ।
स्थानं धर्मस्य सत्यास्पदमधिकवदान्यत्वजन्मैकभूमिः
शौर्यक्रीडानिवासः स्थिरमतिरिति यं सन्ततं स्तौति लोकः ॥ १७

येन जितो बद्देनृपो येनैव जितो रणे महाराजः ।
येन करिकालचोलः समरमुखाद्यमसुखं द्रुतं नीतः ॥ १८

सकदाचिदनवरतसमदरिपुनृपतिनतविकटकिरीटपालीपुटीरत्नगणप्रभापुञ्ज-पिञ्जरितचरणकमलयुगलः, निशितासिलताप्रहारदलितरिपुराजगजकुम्भस्थलस्थूल-मुक्ताफलजालदन्तुरितभुजदण्डदशदिशाविभागविस्फारितयशोवितानः शशाङ्क इव मृदुकरपरितोषिताशेषलोकः सन्मार्गनिरतश्च, रत्नाकर इवालोक्यमानगाम्भीर्यः शरणागतभूभृत्पक्षरक्षकश्च, नारायण इव बलिबलापहारदक्षः लक्ष्मीनिवासवक्षः-स्थलश्च, अनवरतदानकातस्वरादानसंप्राप्तमहाविभूतिपरितुष्टविशिष्टविबुधगणः,

सर्वलोकाश्रयश्रीविष्णुवर्धनो महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरः परमब्रह्मण्यः परमभट्टारकः परममाहेश्वरः मातापितृपादानुध्यातः गृध्रवाटीविषयनिवासिनः राष्ट्रकूटप्रमुखान् कुटुम्बिनः सर्वान् समाहूय इत्थमाज्ञापयति, यथा—

अणिमादिसिद्धिसिद्धक्षपणकसाहाय्यलब्धलक्ष्मीकाः ।
कूटाख्यग्रामस्य ग्रामण्यः परिपूतेन्द्रियग्रामाः ॥ १९

प्रथितैकहरितवंशाः अय्यनभट्टारकपदाम्बुजभ्रमर-
शिरोरत्नैकभूषाः परहितचरिताः गता बहवः ॥ २०

तेषां वंशे जातः पुण्यसमेतः पदक्रमाख्यातः ।
विवेल्लुनामभट्टारकोऽचलितवचनः प्रीतिविजितनिजयशोरचनः ॥ २१

तत्तनयः पृथुविनयः प्रथितोदारत्वरवितनयः ।
संबाह्वयभट्टारकः दलितकलिकालः प्रतिबुद्धप्रलयकालः ॥ २२

तत्सूनुर्धृतिभानुः कीर्तिलताव्याप्तसेतुहिमसानुः ।
पिण्णयभट्टारकः हरिहरभक्तः सूनृतवदान्यतायुक्तः ॥ २३

निजपरिश्रमपरितोषितभीमरादित्येशलब्धनृपचिह्नः ।
चालुक्यवंशवर्धनरक्षणहेतुप्रभूतध्वजदण्डः ॥ २४

यः प्राप्तस्सततं कलासु निपुणः कल्पद्रुमोयोऽर्थिनां
विद्वत्संसदजस्रसंस्तुतगुणः प्रख्यातधर्मे स्थितः ।
मन्वाचारपरः स्वरक्रमघने शक्त्यन्वितः सत्यवान्
सप्तांबोधिपरीतभूतलजनैराह्लादितश्रीयुतः ॥ २५

येनोन्नतं जिनगृहं सपताकमेकं
भक्त्या कृतं सुरुचिरं परवन्दिनाम्नि ।
यश्चांगनानुवट्टकाभरणो नयेपा (?)
(?) गस्मदीयरिपवः क्षपितास्समस्ताः ॥ २६

तस्मै पेन्नेरुनामग्रामः यत्प्रतिबद्धवेगुलकुरु - धवलकुरु - अद्दपाल्लिनामग्रामाधिकत्रितयेन सार्धं सर्वकरपरिहारेण मान्यं कृत्वा तत्तपःपरितोषितेन मया दत्तः इति विदितमस्तु वः ! अस्य ग्रामस्यावधयः। पूर्वतः कोरुमल्लिसीमैव सीमा।

आग्नेयतः वानपाल्लि सीमैव सीमा । दक्षिणतः अनिडि सीमैव सीमा नैर्ऋत्यतः गौपिनिसीमैव सीमा । पश्चिमतः आलमूरु सब्बयकुर्रु सीमैव सीमा । वायव्यतः अंगरपूडि तातपूडि सीमैव सीमा । उत्तरतः अंगरसीमैव सीमा । ईशान्यतः मासर सीमैव सीमा । अस्योपरि न केनाचिद्बाधा कर्तव्या । यः करोति पंचमहापातक-संयुक्तो भवति । तथा व्योसन प्रोक्तम् ।

स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् ।
षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्रुमिः ॥ २७

बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता ।
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ २८

हस्तिवरद्विसहस्रैः द्वात्रिंशद्वीरनिकर(गण)युवराजैः ।
संरक्ष्योऽयं धर्मः स्थेयादाचन्द्रतारकं प्रवरः ॥ २९

कर्ता शासनकार्यस्य भीमसूरिशिरोमणिः ।
आज्ञप्तिः कटकाधीशो गौकाचार्यो विलेखकः ॥ ३०

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Abbreviations: br.=brother, E.=Eastern, C.=Cāḷukya, d.=daughter. m.=married, Dt.=district, W.=Western, V. V.=Visnuvardhana Vijayāditya VII, N.=North, Insn.:=Inscription, Pl.:=Plates.

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